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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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## ON THE DISUSE OF SLAVE PRODUCE.

ADDRESS ON THE DISUSE OF SLAVE-PRODUCE OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO THE FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

The abolition of slavery and the slave-trade through every portion of the territorial possessions of Great Britain, is, perhaps, the greatest event which has marked the progress of the present age. In it we cannot fail to discover the triumph of Christian philanthropy and national justice, over a system of heartless selfishness and inhuman oppression. By the laws which have been passed, millions of slaves have been emancipated, and their posterity, through successive generations, declared free. To measure the misery from which these liberated slaves have been relieved, the degradation from which they have been raised, the privileges to which they have been exalted, and the blessings which they enjoy, would be impossible.

But whilst we are permitted to rejoice in this triumph of justice, humanity, and religion, we have still to deplore the existence of slavery and the slave-trade to an enormous extent, and under the most aggravated circumstances, in foreign countries. So long as they exist, we consider it to be the duty of philanthropists to use every practicable means for their removal; and hence, we earnestly call on the friends of the slave throughout the United Kingdom and the World, to combined and persevering efforts in promoting this great and good work.

The number of Africans and their descendants now held in bondage under professedly Christian governments, is estimated at upwards of seven millions. In the rice swamps and cotton plantations of the United States, nearly three millions of innocent human beings languish in slavery and chains. An equal number are compelled, under the dreadful stimulus of the slave-whip, to cultivate the vast territory of Brazil, and to work its mines; and about 800,000 more are driven to their toil on the sugar and coffee plantations of the Spanish colonies. To these we may add 400,000 who pass a wretched existence in the colonial possessions of France, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. The variety and intensity of the privations and sufferings endured by these poor slaves can only be fully known to HIM who is omniscient, and "whose ear is open to their cry;" yet enough is known of their sorrow and degradation to excite the tenderest compassion for them, and the most earnest prayers and efforts for their deliverance.

In this brief statement of human wrong, one melancholy fact should not be forgotten. Nearly one half of the millions of the human race, now held in slavery, are women; and on them it falls with dreadful severity. Within the grasp of their brutal masters, neither the innocence of youth, nor the virtue of womanhood is respected. No law protects them from the deep pollution to which, in most cases, they are subjected.

The great extent and multiplied horrors of the African slave-trade have engaged too much of public attention to require more than a mere reference. At the least computation, from 80,000 to 100,000 men, women, and children are torn from Africa annually, to meet the demands of the slave-markets in the Spanish colonies and Brazil. Yet these form scarcely more than one-third of the whole number of victims of this dreadful traffic. From 150,000 to 200,000, besides those led into hopeless captivity, are estimated to perish in the wars engendered by it in the interior of Africa, in their transit to the coast, in their detention at the barracoons for sale, and in their conveyance across the Atlantic to their place of final destination and bondage.

In all countries where slavery prevails, especially in the United

States, an immense internal slave-trade is carried on, under the most revolting circumstances. There, husbands and wives, parents and children, are publicly exposed to auction, handled and examined like cattle, and sold and separated without compunction or remorse; and in some States, they are reported to be raised like brute beasts for the markets.

Our friends are aware, that during the past year an act of the British legislature was passed, which allows of the introduction of slave-grown sugars into the home market for consumption. The tendency of this measure is to extend and strengthen the system of slavery, and to give a dreadful stimulus to the slave-trade, by affording increased profits to the inhuman traffickers in their fellow-men, as well as to those who build up their fortunes on their uncompensated toil. Under these circumstances, it is for Christian philanthropy, influenced by a deep sense of moral obligation, to counteract the effects of a commercial intercourse which invades human liberty, retards civilization, and destroys the life and the happiness of men.

This consideration induces us to direct your serious attention to the fourth rule of the Society, where, among the means referred to for promoting the abolition of slavery is the following, viz.:—"TO RECOMMEND THE USE OF FREE-GROWN PRODUCE (AS FAR AS PRACTICABLE), IN PREFERENCE TO SLAVE-GROWN." This is a practical measure which all can adopt; it would be an efficient one where all who love the freedom of the human race, to follow it. Under any circumstances, as auxiliary to other measures, it could not fail to force the conviction on the minds of slaveholders, that we would not voluntarily be partakers of their crimes. In asking you to adopt this recommendation in your daily practice, permit us to suggest it as a matter of consideration, whether those who needlessly purchase slave-produce are less accessory to the crime of the slaveholder, than is the purchaser of stolen goods, to the robbery by which they are obtained? Slave-holding involves in itself nearly every crime by which the physical and moral nature of man is wronged and outraged. The slave is robbed of his person and the fair reward of his toil;—he is, in a multitude of instances, deprived of all means of mental and moral improvement; and doomed, after a life of suffering, frequently to a premature death. It must be obvious to all reflecting minds, that it is the demand which exists for slave produce, which is the chief support of slavery. It is this which keeps open the slave-markets. May it not, therefore, be said, that to the commission of a great amount of crime; and the infliction of unparalleled sufferings on a large portion of mankind, do the consumers of slave produce, however unintentionally, furnish the motive?

The articles produced by slave labour, in common use, in this country, are principally cotton, rice, coffee, and tobacco, to which sugar has recently been added. With the exception of cotton and tobacco, a supply of these articles, the produce of free labour, can be readily obtained. So far as we are individually concerned we can lessen the demand for slave produce by steadfastly and conscientiously refusing, where we have the power, its consumption. To carry this determination into effect may involve acts of self-denial; and the substitution, for a season at least, of other fabrics for those of cotton; but the conviction that by so doing, you lessen the toil of the slave; and withhold a great incentive to the slave-trade, will prove an abundant compensation for any sacrifice that may be made. It may also deserve remark, that in proportion as you limit the demand for slave produce, you increase it for free, and thus give a stimulus to human industry and commerce in the right direction. There is reason to hope that the experiments which are now being prosecuted in British India, and other parts of the empire, to increase the quantity and improve the quality of



cotton will succeed, and that the difficulties which at present exist in manufacturing cotton goods wholly from the produce of free labour, will be removed.

It is an important and encouraging circumstance, that in the United States a society has been established for the especial purpose of promoting the use of free-labour produce only. As a personal and standing testimony against slavery, it is already producing excellent moral effects. We rejoice greatly in this fact, and would encourage our friends in that country, both in this, and all other legitimate efforts, on behalf of the slave.

To the female heads of families we would especially and earnestly appeal on this important subject, under the well-grounded persuasion, that their judgments and feelings will alike combine to lead them to the adoption of the course suggested in this address. They will not, we are convinced, turn a deaf ear to the cries of Africa, ravished of her children; or consent, by their practice, to add a pang to the sorrows of the slave in the land of his captivity and exile.

In conclusion, we would observe, that it is far from our intention, by pressing on your consideration the disuse of slave produce, to induce a suspension or relaxation of other efforts for the abolition of slavery. It is to be regarded simply as one among the various means which may be used to awaken the conscience of individuals and the justice of legislators, and thus to promote the extinction of one of the greatest crimes by which humanity is afflicted, and heaven defiled.

#### BRITISH GUIANA;—BONDAGE ORDINANCE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL GREY, &c., &c., &c.

MY LORD.—In the *Royal Gazette* of British Guiana, published on the 1st October last, there was inserted for the information of the public, draft of a bill for regulating the rights, duties, and relations of employers and servants in that colony, to which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society respectfully call the attention of your lordship.

This bill, drafted by her Majesty's law officers in that colony, it is said, by order of the governor Mr. Light, has created a good deal of uneasiness in the minds of the friends of the emancipated classes, and of those who have been, or may yet be, introduced into Guiana as immigrant labourers; and is regarded by them as a new attempt to abridge their liberties, and place them beneath the control of their employers.

In considering the Bill in the form in which it is now presented, the Committee feel that it ought to have their most strenuous and decided opposition; and they venture to hope that your lordship will, upon reviewing it, arrive at the same conclusion.

First:—Because it repeals all laws formerly in force respecting the hiring of servants in husbandry, of sailors and boatmen employed on board vessels and boats belonging to the colony, of menial servants, and of artificers, handicraftsmen, and other labourers in the colony, except only in so far as the same may have been repealed by any former law. By this enactment the Royal Order in Council, regulating contracts, of the 7th of September, 1838, becomes null and void and of no effect. Consequently all the protection which it threw around the creole, and especially the immigrant labourers, with one exception only, which will be hereafter noticed, is removed, and all labourers, whether employed in husbandry or otherwise, all household or other domestic servants, and even laundresses, are intended to be brought within the stringent regulations of the proposed Act.

Secondly:—Because, by the 20th, and especially by the 23rd, clause of the Bill, it declares that jurisdiction under this ordinance for the enforcement of all contracts between employers and servants, shall be vested in two justices of the peace of the colony, and all complaints to be made under this ordinance shall be heard and determined by them; and in all cases to be dealt with under this ordinance, and not otherwise especially provided for, the justices shall proceed according to the ordinance intitled "An Ordinance for regulating the mode of proceeding in cases of offences punishable on Summary Conviction, and for establishing a Court of Appeal from certain Summary Convictions." The 20th clause subjects to the jurisdiction of these justices all complaints, differences, and disputes which shall arise between employer and servant touching and concerning any wages or allowances which may be due to such servant, provided such wages and allowances shall not exceed the sum of forty-eight dollars. Under these clauses, any two local justices, being planters, or interested in estates, are armed with a power which the government has hitherto not seen fit to withdraw from the

stipendiary magistrates, and which the Committee are convinced cannot be taken from them without entailing upon the labourers the most serious oppression and injustice. This transfer of jurisdiction, the Committee view with the more alarm inasmuch as not only have a large body of immigrants already reached British Guiana under the stipulations of the former contract law, but that they as well as those who may hereafter arrive will be placed under a magisterial control which can afford no guarantee that their rights will be respected, or their interests secured.

Thirdly:—Because it is proposed (1), that in the absence of any express agreement between the parties thereto to the contrary, every contract for service shall be deemed and taken to be a contract for one month certain,—from the time of entering such service,—such month to be deemed a lunar month in the case of agricultural labourers, and a calendar month in all other cases, to be terminated by mutual consent, or by either party at the expiration of the first or any subsequent month, on giving fourteen days previous notice to the other party in writing, or in the presence of any credible witness, or for any good and sufficient cause. By this means every day labourer may be, and will be converted into a monthly labourer, unless there be an express stipulation to the contrary. And unless he be careful to give notice in due time and in proper legal form, his implied contract may be perpetuated from month to month. (2.) By clause 12, it is provided that every contract made and entered into with any labourer elsewhere than within the limits or upon the land of the colony, may extend to a period of three years from the time of his landing in the said colony, such contract being certified by a notary or British consul resident at the place where such contract was made: And it is further provided that contracts may be made for a period of three years within the limits or upon the land of the colony, if such contract be entered into in the presence of a stipendiary magistrate. Hitherto no contract whether entered into in foreign parts, or within the colony, has been valid for a longer period than twelve months, and from all contracts made without the limits of the colony,—the Indian and African immigrants have, for very obvious reasons,—been carefully excepted. To allow a further extension to the period for which contracts can be legally made, either within or without the colony, the Committee think would open a door to the greatest abuses, and be utterly at variance with the principles laid down by successive governments, on this important question. The Committee are aware that it is provided by the sixteenth clause, that every such contracting labourer or servant shall, at any time after six months' service, upon giving one month's notice, be entitled to a cancelment of any written contract into which he may have entered, on paying the necessary expense incurred in conveying him to the colony. It must be obvious, however, on the slightest reflection, that few, if any, agricultural labourers could avail themselves of this proviso: in their case, at least, it would prove a mockery and a delusion. (3) It is proposed, in the absence of any express agreement to the contrary, that the first hiring of all labourers introduced at the public expense, from any and every part of the world, shall be deemed and taken to be for a period of six months. Up to this time all labourers introduced into the colony from India and Africa, at the public charge, have been free on their arrival to choose both their employers and their employments, and no contract whatever has been valid unless entered into in the presence of a stipendiary magistrate, whose duty it has been to see that no advantage were taken of their ignorance, and who had the power in the case of any fraud being practised, wholly to relieve them from their engagements. The change proposed in the law takes from them all liberty of choice on their arrival in the colony, and appears to be intended to evade, by an arbitrary arrangement, the intentions of the government in reference to this class of labourers, for, practically, it can make no difference to the Coolie or the African whether he brought under contract in his own country, or subjected to this regulation on reaching Guiana.

Fourthly:—Because the penalties intended to be enforced under the proposed ordinance are disproportionate to many of the offences specified in it. By clause 2, for refusing to fulfil his contract, expressed or implied, in whole or in part, he may be punished by fine to the extent of twenty-four dollars, or by imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a period of thirty days; and further, by clause 4, he may be mulcted of the whole of the wages due to him, and his employer directed to retain the same for his own use. In case the labourer be fined, the justices who imposed the penalty, may, under clause 25, issue their warrant authorising a levy on and sale of the offender's good, and in default of such goods cause him



to be committed to jail, there to be imprisoned, with or without hard labour, as the justices shall think fit, for a period of two calendar months, unless the fine and all costs and charges necessarily incurred in carrying the judgment into full and final execution, shall be sooner paid. It is provided, however, in the twenty-sixth clause, that if the levy on and sale of the goods of the defendant shall appear to the justices to be attended with ruinous consequences, in that case, they are empowered to withhold such warrant to commit the offender to the common jail, there to remain in such manner and for such time as if a warrant of execution had been issued, and a return of *nula bona* made thereon. What may be the extent of the power intended to be vested in the justices under this clause it is impossible to say, but it is clear to the Committee, that a labourer would stand but a very poor chance of justice before a tribunal constituted upon the principle, and armed with the powers of this Bill.

It may be observed further, that by the third clause, if any servant shall be guilty of *ill behaviour*, he or she shall, on conviction, forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding ten dollars, or be imprisoned for a period not exceeding seven days. It must be clear, that under the term "*ill behaviour*" may be comprehended any conduct which the master or the mistress may feel inclined to resent.

The Committee do not dwell on other parts of this Bill for the purpose of showing its *animus*, for it is clear to them that this is a daring attempt to effect, under colour of law, what would not for an instant be tolerated in this country, viz., the power of coercing the labouring population and compelling them to a servile submission to the will of their employers. The Committee would venture to remind your lordship, that the Attorney General of British Guiana is a planter deeply interested in estates, that the Colonial Members of the Court of Policy and the Financial Representatives, for the most part, are planters, or the representatives of planters, and that the labouring population are not represented in either of those bodies. They think, therefore, they may, without impropriety, earnestly and confidently appeal to your lordship to interpose the authority of the crown to prevent the passing of this Bill into a law, or, in the event of its receiving the sanction of the Court of Policy, to instruct his Excellency the Governor of the Colony to refuse to confirm or ratify the same.

I have the honour to be, My Lord, (on behalf of the Committee),  
Your obedient servant,

Dec. 18, 1846.

JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

P.S. Subsequently to the preparation of the foregoing memorial, the Committee have learned that the Bill to which it refers has become law. It appears that it was introduced into the Court of Policy and passed with the greatest expedition; and that the amendments, if any, were discussed with closed doors, with the exception of one only, on the clause imposing a penalty for enticing a labourer to quit his employer's service. The Hon. Mr. Croal argued, that in the case of written contracts, the employer should produce it, "and then, if the party continued to employ the servant of another, he would do so with his eyes open to the consequences. But in the case of an implied contract, the proof should be the conviction of the servant. The bare *ipse dixit* of no man was to be admitted in a case of that kind." Now, though the employer of labourers might be prevented from hiring them, under these circumstances, the injustice to the labourers is overlooked. Any employer may say "This or that labourer is under an implied contract with me," and that would be sufficient to prevent his being hired by a third party. The Committee notice that an additional clause has been added to the Bill by the Hon. P. Rose in reference to the labourer. They perceive that if any employer causes a notice to be stuck up in some conspicuous part of the premises, stating that servants leaving their employers, not only forfeited their right to the lands granted them, but also *the crops thereon*, it should be sufficient to deprive them of all right or title to the same. To carry such a law into effect would be adding robbery to injustice. The Committee would add, that they have received information from Grenada that a Bill, somewhat similar, relating to contracts, has passed the legislature of that colony. That Act also annuls the exclusive jurisdiction of the stipendiary magistrates. It was opposed on this ground by the Hon. J. N. Brown, but without effect; as it was asserted that the measure originated with the Home Government, which had authorized its enactment at Trinidad. The Committee beg to say, that they put no confidence whatever in this statement.

Dec. 26, 1846.

#### SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

The approaching session of the French Chambers naturally calls our attention to the existence of slavery in the French colonies. This infamous system of oppression is still permitted to outrage the feelings of humanity, and to reflect foul dishonour on France. No doubt the Deputies and Peers, who have given their consent to the various measures for ameliorating the condition of the unhappy slaves, with a view to their ultimate emancipation, which have, from time to time, received the sanction of the Chambers and the Government, thought they were doing these victims of a ruthless oppression, excellent service. They thought that laws, solemnly passed by the Legislature, would be enforced by the Government and the colonial authorities; but now, if they will review their work, they will find that all their legislation has been vain, and that the only remedy for so inveterate an evil is its immediate and complete extirpation.

From documents which lie before us, we make the following selection of cases, to show the atrocities practised on French slaves.

##### MARTINIQUE.

The following charge of cruelty was brought against two young Creoles, M. M. Charles, and Octavius de Jaham, who, only three years before, had returned from France, where they had been residing for the purpose of completing their education. M. Pujot, *procureur du roi*, appeared for the prosecution, M. Cicéron for the defendants.

M. Pujot, in his opening speech, stated briefly the facts of the case, from which it appeared that, in the month of July, Rosette, one of the slaves belonging to their plantation, came to complain at the police office. She said that she had been pregnant for four months, and that, a day or two before, she had received so severe a chastisement, that she had resolved to come and implore the protection of the magistrate.

M. Desportes, a physician, saw her, and, after having counted the different cicatrices which furrowed her back, declared that the punishment which she had received was not excessive, (*i. e.* not above twenty-five lashes) and only appeared to have been inflicted angrily; nevertheless, the deposition of the complainant was of such a nature as to render a visit to the plantation of de Jaham necessary. When the magistrates arrived there, the brothers had gone out. Madame de Jaham alone was at home.

In the house there was a small room, neither plank nor paved, partitioned off, to be used as a hospital or a prison, as circumstances might require. Here they found a Negro, named Gustave, emaciated and stupid, who replying in monosyllables to their questions, denied the ill-treatment of which he was the living proof, and explained by the word *sick* the wounds that had been caused by the galling of his fetters. This and other circumstances partly confirmed the declaration of Rosette. Gustave, together with Rosette and her children, were immediately conveyed to the Hospital at St. Pierre, where Gustave soon died, and Rosette and her son Vincent slowly recovered.

The counts of the indictment, which related to Octavius de Jaham in particular, were as follows:—1. That he had inflicted on Rosette, whilst in a state of pregnancy, after having caused her to be held on the ground, with her hands tied behind her back, her body stripped naked, and exposed to the heat of the sun, blows which caused effusion of blood; and that he had caused her bleeding wounds to be washed with a mixture of lime juice and pepper, and forced her, while in this condition, to go to town, a distance of at least four miles. 2. That he had, some few days after, inflicted a similar punishment on Rosette, for having been rather too long in town, whither she had been sent to sell some charcoal. 3. That he had put the slave Gustave in irons, and imprisoned him at night in a cow-shed, open to the wind and damp, and only fit for beasts; whilst he was compelled to work in the day time with an iron collar round his neck; and that this punishment had been inflicted on Gustave whilst in a state of illness. 4. That he had chained together Gustave and a boy eleven years old, called Jean-Baptiste, forcing them, by means of the lash, to sing the nature of the work they were about, in order that the brothers de Jaham might know what they were doing. For example, they were obliged to sing, "We are hoeing canes, digging up weeds," &c., &c. 5. That he had, for several weeks, kept Gustave in irons during the night, and placed him in such a painful position that he could not lie down or go to sleep. 6. That he had loaded Jean Baptiste with chains and fetters. 7. That he had, by ill-treatment, caused



the deaths of Jean-Baptiste and Gustave. 8. That he had chastised the child Vincent, six years of age, in so brutal a manner as to cause him to be confined to his bed for nearly three weeks. Charles de Jaham, in particular, was charged with having cut off a piece of Jean-Baptiste's ear, and having compelled the poor sufferer to swallow it, together with a piece of igname steeped in the blood which flowed from the mutilated member. The two brothers were charged with having completely neglected to feed and clothe their slaves, and with having forced them to eat their own excrements mixed with the dung of other animals.

The witnesses were then called. Several physicians, who had held a *post mortem* examination on the bodies of Gustave and Jean-Baptiste, declared it to be their opinion that the said slaves had not died in consequence of the punishment they had received. Rosette, the mother, repeated her deposition; and several white men, as well as a number of Negroes, supported her statements. Many whites, on the other hand, came forward, and gave the accused parties an excellent character. A little Negro, called Toussaint, about ten years of age, was brought into court. He declared that he had whipped Rosette, and that all the persons who had borne witness against his master were liars. But his testimony was soon falsified, by his master declaring that he himself had inflicted the punishment.

The defendants were then examined. Charles de Jaham formally denied having any participation in the management of the plantation, and said that he was utterly ignorant of the charges brought against him; but his brother admitted the charges brought against him, and justified his actions on the ground that the slaves behaved very badly.

The Court, after a long deliberation, declared the prisoners **NOT GUILTY!**

How painfully are we reminded of similar cases in the British West Indies, and similar acquittals.

During the last session of the Chamber of Deputies, M. TERNAUX-COMPANS, undertook the public exposure of this horrible case; but the Minister of Marine, Admiral de Mackan, interrupted him with these words! "In the name of the honour of the country, I beg of the honourable member not to enter into a detailed account of the facts which he wishes to make known to the Chamber. No one has been more indignant than myself at such deeds; and I have taken the greatest possible care to prevent a repetition of them. Orders have been given that the parties who were guilty of these crimes should be driven out of the colony. Besides this, I can assure the honourable member that the slaves, the victims of their brutality, have been set at liberty."

Three assertions are contained in the preceding words, all of which we undertake to disprove.

To the first, that the greatest possible pains had been taken to prevent a repetition of such deeds, the following account of a transaction that recently took place at Cayenne, will be a sufficient answer.

A planter, named N——, was brought before the Cour Royale, charged with having most unmercifully beaten his negress B——, when far advanced in pregnancy, indeed, the punishment had been so severe that the woman's life was despaired of for a long while. A physician, who examined her body, found ELEVEN separate wounds on her back, and ONE on her stomach, resulting from the application of the cowskin.

Although the Procureur du Roi, the highest legal functionary in the colony, was decidedly of opinion that the prisoner should be found guilty, yet the court acquitted him, giving it as their reason for so doing that, although it was very imprudent of N—— to punish a woman advanced seven months in pregnancy, yet that instead of ordering a driver to inflict the chastisement he had punished her with his own hand, that it might be more moderate; besides which, it appeared from the medical certificate, that the number of cicatrices was only TWELVE, and that fell very far short of being excessive.

To the second assertion, that the brothers de Jaham had been driven out of the colony, we reply;—one of them is dead; the other still lives in the full enjoyment of his right to renew on other victims his abominable tortures, certain of being able to do so with impunity. Whence it appears that either M. de Mackan did not send out any orders, or that the Governor of Martinique did not think fit to carry them into execution.

Our reply to the third assertion is—The slaves, said to have been SET AT LIBERTY, were SOLD BY PUBLIC AUCTION. A gentleman, now in France, was present at the sale!

We add another case which will still further illustrate the atrocities perpetrated on the slaves in the French colonies.

JEAN BAPTISTE, a slave on the plantation belonging to M. M. Clauset and Co., of the Grande Anse, Martinique, had been head driver for three years, when, one day, Jn. J. Havre, the acting proprietor, accused him of not properly discharging the duties of his office, that is, of not beating his fellow slaves sufficiently; and finished by giving him a severe flogging. The poor fellow thereupon resolved to buy himself, which he was legally entitled to do, and spoke to his master about it. For this he was put into the dungeon; his money, amounting to 1372 francs or nearly £55 taken from him, and placed in the hands of M. Havre.

Jean Baptiste was locked up in one of the granaries on the plantation. He soon succeeded in getting out, but was re-taken, heavily ironed, and brought back to his place of confinement. A second time he escaped, and even got as far as St. Pierre. He immediately went to the *Procureur du Roi*, M. Pujot, who advised him to bring his complaint before the Mayor of the Grande Anse.

This advice he did not follow as the Mayor of the Grande Anse was a relative of M. Havre; but, deprived of all protection, and not having sufficient courage to take to the woods, he was seized by the police and delivered into the hands of his master, by whose orders he was again put in heavy irons. He remained in this condition for three years. The first year he was forced to work in the fields in spite of his chains; during the second and third he was kept in such close confinement that he almost entirely lost the use of his limbs. His food was a single meal daily of cassada bread and salt fish.

Jean Baptiste was not the only one subjected to this brutal treatment. A woman, forty-six years of age, called *Angele*, was also put in irons by M. Havre, and she remained in prison for more than two years, when, at last, the law came to her deliverance. She also had, in a great measure, lost the use of her limbs from the torture to which she had been subjected.

The crime of which she was *suspected!* was poisoning. The colonists see poison in everything. If an ox or a horse die, they think it must have been poisoned. They punish those whom they suspect just as severely as if they had actually committed the crime; and so furious are they against their victims, that M. Havre, after having given Angele TWENTY-NINE LASHES, told her, with brutal satisfaction, that she should die in the dungeon.

These poor creatures are now at the hospital of St. Pierre, slowly recovering. M. Havre was arrested on the 20th of September: he will be tried, and, doubtless, acquitted; whilst his slaves GUILTY OF TRYING TO ESCAPE and SUSPECTED OF POISONING will be condemned to the lash, to the galleys, or to transportation.—*La Reforme*.

#### IMPORTANT STATISTICS OF THE SLAVE STATES.

It is a singular fact that while the great staples of the south—cotton in particular—having been increasing steadily and rapidly in amount, they have been diminishing as speedily and more rapidly in value. Cotton has increased in amount, in the last ten years, 100 per cent., and in value it has fallen off 25 per cent.! A friend of ours who is curious in such matters, has collected from the Report of the Commissioner of Patents, a table showing the annual exports during the last few years of cotton, tobacco, rice, naval stores, (consisting of pitch, tar, rosin, turpentine, and indigo), from which we take the following extract:—

"Exports from the United States during the year ending September 30th, 1836:—

Unmanufactured Cotton	- - -	\$71,284,925
Tobacco	- - -	10,494,104
Rice	- - -	2,548,750
Naval Stores	- - -	912,376
Indigo	- - -	1,020

\$85,241,175

During the year ending June 30th, 1845:—

Unmanufactured Cotton	- - -	\$51,739,643
Tobacco	- - -	8,008,317
Rice	- - -	2,160,456
Naval Stores	- - -	814,969
Indigo	- - -	70

\$62,723,455

Showing a falling off in the annual value of Southern exports, in ten years, of - - \$22,517,720



"On page 90 of the Report, from which the tabular statement is taken," says our friend, "among other items, is a column containing the population of each state, per census of 1840; also another column containing the *estimated* population of the same for 1845.

The number of inhabitants in the slave-states in 1840

was	-	-	-	-	7,290,119
The estimated number in 1845 was	-	-	-	-	8,250,500
Being an increase of 964,381, or near one million.					
The exports in 1840, as per statement, were	-	-	-	-	\$77,112,749
The exports in 1845, as per statement, only	-	-	-	-	\$62,723,556
Showing a deficiency, notwithstanding the increase of numbers, of	-	-	-	-	\$14,389,294

In other words, while the south has been adding one million to her population, her means of supporting this population has been diminished to the amount of nearly fourteen millions and a half dollars.

These are pregnant facts, and worthy of consideration. They ought to be duly pondered by our northern merchants especially. If in the commercial crisis of 1836, the south, with a population of less than seven millions, and an income of more than \$85,000,000 sunk *so much* northern capital, *how much* would it sink, if now with a population of more than eight millions, and an income of less than \$63,000,000, it were overtaken by a another similar crisis? This is a sum that might be easily cyphered out. Our own opinion is that the sooner our Philadelphia and other northern merchants take their slates and pencils in hand for the purpose, the better. The conclusion to which they must come may be useful.

It is a well-known fact, that in the last year or two, our merchants have been doing a greatly increased southern business. The lessons of caution which were taught them during the commercial embarrassments from which the country is but just recovering, seem to be already forgotten, and our Market-street men and others are again launching out largely in the southern trade. The temptation held out by large profits and the prospect of realizing sudden fortunes, are too powerful to be resisted, and though admonished by the experience of the past, and warned of the dangers to come, enough are found willing to trust to their *luck*, and take all the risks of this most precarious business. Many of them, however, will have to pay dearly for their rashness. The indebtedness of the south, and their inability to pay, are increasing in a regular ratio. That another revulsion in business must ere long take place, and that additional millions of northern capital must be sunk in southern bankruptcy, are conclusions from which the most superficial observer cannot escape.

This crisis may possibly be deferred for some time. The Mexican war will probably contribute to this end. While it lasts, it will make up to the south for the falling off in the value of its exports. Pecuniarily, this war has been a glorious wind-fall to the slaveholder. A certain person below is said to be "always good to his own," and the adage seems to hold true in this case. Of the \$150,000,000, which it is estimated—we pretend not to say with how much truth—the war has already cost the country, almost the whole has been expended on southern contractors and southern officials of the government, civil and military. In fact, the whole benefits of the war, present and prospective, are accruing to the slave-holding states. The north pays, and the south reaps the profits. One effect of the large sums, therefore, which are drawn from the National Treasury and disbursed at the south, will be to postpone the day of bankruptcy which the annual excess of the expenditures of that region over its receipts is rapidly bringing upon it. But though postponed, it will surely come; and when it comes, northern merchants and manufactures will as surely pay the penalty.

The annual falling off in the income of the south is interesting in another aspect. It foreshadows, and at the same time hastens, the final decay of the whole system of slavery. It is making the business of planting less profitable, and diminishing the inducements to purchase slaves. The cost of raising cotton now so nearly approximates its value, and in some cases so much exceeds it, that the planters cannot live much longer without a change. This they themselves acknowledge. And the change which they need can only be effected in one of two ways. There must be either a withdrawal of capital from the planting business, and an investment of it in manufacturing or agricultural pursuits, or the cost of raising their crops must be greatly diminished. The former method—that of producing a diversion of capital into other channels—has been attempted, but without success. Cotton conventions have been called, and resolutions adopted urging the

necessity of investing in other pursuits in order to prevent the evils of over-production, but these resolutions have effected nothing towards their object. The slave system admits of no such division of capital, and cannot adopt itself, like free-labour, to such emergencies. No expectation is therefore entertained of relief from this quarter. The next resort, then, is to cheapen the cost of production. This can only be done by getting new and fertile soil, and at a price not much more than nominal. With this view the whole energies of the south have been directed, and successfully to the acquisition of Texas. But this is not more than a moiety of what they want. Their covetous eyes are now turned upon California. If they succeed in acquiring it, they will lengthen somewhat the term of slavery's existence. Their efforts, however, we are not altogether without hopes, will be defeated. California may yet elude their grasp; or if it does not, Mr. Wilmot's resolution may defeat the purpose of its acquisition.—*Pennsylvania Freeman*.

#### THE LAW OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

It is our intention to give a series of articles illustrative of the legal condition of slaves in the United States, the materials of which have been abundantly supplied to us. We begin by showing WHO MAY BE HELD AS SLAVES.

The law of South Carolina is as follows:—

"All Negroes, *Indians* (free Indians in amity with this government, and Negroes, Mulattoes, and Mestizos, who are now free, excepted), Mulattoes or Mestizos, who are now or shall hereafter be in this province, and all their issue and offsprings born, or to be born, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be, and remain for ever hereafter, *absolute slaves*, and shall follow the *condition of the mother*."—*Act of 1740. 2 Brevard's Digest, 229.*

Similar laws are now in force in Georgia, Mississippi, Virginia, and Louisiana. In Virginia the enslavement of Indians was authorized by statute from 1679 to 1691. Those whose maternal ancestors have been reduced to slavery since the latter period, have been decided by the highest courts in that state to be free. So late as 1797, it was decided by the Supreme Court of New Jersey, Chief Justice Kinsey, that Indians might be held as slaves.

"They (Indians) have been so long recognised as slaves in our law, that it would be as great a violation of the rights of property to establish a contrary doctrine at the present day, as it would be in the case of the Africans; and as useless to investigate the manner in which they originally lost their freedom."—*The State v. Waggoner. 1 Halstead's Reports, 374—376.*

Persons emancipated, but not in the prescribed form of law, are liable to be re-enslaved; thus in South Carolina:—

"In case any slave shall be emancipated or set free, otherwise than according to the Act (of 1800) regulating emancipation, it shall be lawful for any person whatsoever to seize and convert to his or her own use, and to keep as his or her property the said slave so illegally emancipated or set free."—*2 Brevard's Digest, 256.*

And in Virginia, "If any emancipated slave (infants excepted) shall remain within the state more than twelve months after his or her right to freedom shall have accrued, he or she shall *forfeit* all such right, and may be apprehended and sold by the overseers of the poor, &c., for the benefit of the LITERARY FUND!"—*1 Rev. Code, 436.*

Hence it will be perceived that slavery has no limits. It lays its bloody hands not only on native Americans of African descent, and their children *for ever*, but on Indians. "Nor is it confined to colour," says Mr. Paxon, of Virginia. "The best blood in Virginia flows in the veins of the slaves." Many who are now held in slavery, in this nation, are as white as the masters by whom they are oppressed.

#### THE GREAT TRIUMPH AT CHICAGO.

The *Chicago Citizen* gives a full account of the great meeting of citizens convened on requisition of the Mayor in reference to the deliverance of two men unlawfully seized as fugitives from slavery. The Common Council requested the Mayor to call a meeting of citizens "to consult upon such measures as may be deemed proper to prevent a recurrence of the *disgraceful scenes* enacted in our city on the 28th ult., by an armed Negro mob." After an effective speech by Mr. Scammell, a lawyer of high standing, never identified with the Abolitionists, in which were embodied the following propositions, which were triumphantly sustained:—



First, I assert that no judge or magistrate has any power or authority to issue any warrant or process to arrest a fugitive slave as such, or to commit him to jail, under any law of the United States.

Second. That there is no law whatever which imposes upon any State officer any duty or obligation whatever to aid in the arrest, trial, detention, or surrender of a fugitive slave.

Third. No officer while engaged in the arrest, detention, or surrender of a fugitive slave, can claim any greater protection from the law than any private person who may be mean and vile enough to engage in such an employment; and any officer thus employed is entitled to the same respect and no more than should be given to the base and mercenary slave catcher.

The following resolutions were offered by that gentleman. After full consideration, they were adopted almost unanimously, as the best measures in their power "to prevent a recurrence of the disgraceful scenes" of the 28th. We have no doubt they are right, and will prove efficacious.

1. *Resolved*, That we are unqualifiedly opposed to the existence of slavery in all its forms; believing that every being who wears the image and likeness of his Maker should be FREE.

2. *Resolved*, That our sympathies are in favour of the oppressed in all contests for freedom; and we will voluntarily do no act which tends to perpetuate slavery, or deprive a human being of his liberty.

3. *Resolved*, That we are not less opposed to mobs and illegal violence, than we are to slavery; and under all circumstances not absolutely revolutionary in their character, we are in favour of the supremacy of the laws, and the maintenance of order.

4. *Resolved*, That while we will uphold the laws and the public officers in enforcing them, we will never sanction their *perversion* to aid in kidnapping the oppressed, or in the illegal arrest and detention of a slave.

The *Citizen* says, that after the adoption of the resolutions, the people did not stop for any formal adjournment.

They cheered the Mayor, they cheered Mr. Scammon, they cheered Mr. Collins, they cheered the fugitives, they cheered liberty, giving them all three rounds—they shook hands and congratulated each other—in short, they were as happy as people at a Methodist camp meeting.

Such was the conclusion of an attempt on the part of a few individuals to stigmatize two thousand or more of our orderly, law-abiding citizens as an "armed Negro mob." We have every reason to be satisfied with the result. It is not probable that a similar attempt will again be made very soon.

ADDRESS OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO BRITISH SHAREHOLDERS IN FOREIGN MINES IN WHICH SLAVE-LABOUR IS EMPLOYED, AND TO OTHER SUBJECTS OR NATIVES OF GREAT BRITAIN WHO HOLD OR HIRE SLAVES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Whilst anxiously and earnestly occupied in attempting to promote the abolition of slavery in foreign lands,—by which system upwards of seven millions of immortal beings are regarded in law, and treated in practice, as chattels, in countries professedly Christian; and whilst seeking the extinction of that traffic by which hundreds of thousands of Africans are annually condemned to death in their own land, or to bondage on a foreign shore;—our thoughts are naturally directed to the part which our countrymen yet take in these dreadful practices.

We are sensible that when we make an appeal to the people of other Countries against these iniquities, we shall be to some, if not in many instances, met by prejudices which would not be equally felt, did it come from their own fellow-citizens; and especially that familiarity with slavery and slave-trading; and the debasing effects of this familiarity, will do much to prevent a candid and just attention to our remonstrances. These remarks will not equally apply to you. You are not wholly unacquainted with our character; and you will not, we believe, generally doubt that our single object is to advance, what we consider to be, the just rights of our enslaved brethren, the sum of human happiness, and the honour and interests of that religion which you in general profess as well as ourselves. Neither have many of you been reconciled to the atrocities of slave-holding and slave-trading, by the frequent or constant sight of those practices. On the other hand, you know how indignantly the Christian public of Great Britain has risen up against them, and have caused them to be swept

from the British dominions. How hopeful, then, may seem to be our task of persuading you to perform that duty, which is evidently required at your hands, of giving liberty to those whom you now hold as bondmen—but we do not conceal from you or from ourselves, that the greatest obstacle to emancipation, the love of gold, exists with too many amongst you, as well as with the foreign slaveholder.

We proceed to state, so far as we are aware of the fact, the extent to which British subjects, or natives of Great Britain, are implicated in slaveholding in foreign countries.

There were several Brazilian mining associations, established about twenty years since, the shares in which are principally held by Englishmen. The mines belonging to these associations have been, during that period, and still are to a great extent, worked by slaves, the number of whom held as property, or hired, is estimated at about 2,000. In the Cobre Copper Company, in the island of Cuba, which is largely owned by British proprietors, the labour of slaves is also employed. We are unable to state the precise number claimed as property, or hired by that company, but there is reason to suppose that it amounts to some hundreds. We are not sure that the Cobre Copper Company is the only one principally sustained by British capital, and conducted under British management, in which slave labour is employed. Besides the slaves held by the Mining Associations in Cuba, we are informed that natives of Great Britain are concerned as proprietors of plantations, cultivated by slaves, both in Cuba and Porto Rico. In Surinam, a Dutch colony, there are a large number of plantations that belong to Englishmen and Scotchmen individually, or jointly with others. The slaves on these plantations, appear from the last Surinam Almanac to which we have access, that for 1843, to be not fewer than about 7,000, and constitute one-sixth, or nearly that proportion of the whole number of slaves in the colony. In the island of St. Croix, under the rule of Denmark, there are several plantations with slaves upon them, owned by, or mortgaged to British subjects, or natives of Great Britain.

Allow us now to call your attention to the extent of slavery and the slave-trade, and to some of the dreadful evils with which those crimes are accompanied, in the various countries in which you hold property in your fellow-men. Brazil and Cuba together contain nearly 4,000,000 of slaves, and are to a fearful extent engaged in the African slave-trade, the number of whose victims, brought to their shores, having often reached or exceeded 100,000 annually. We need not remind many whom we address that this fact, painful as it is, represents only a small part of the horrors of the slave-trade, to supply which traffic wars are constantly waged in Africa, its villages plundered of their inhabitants, and large numbers of them destroyed by the hardships of the march to the coast, privations at the place of embarkation, and the intolerable sufferings of the middle passage. We have not adverted as we might have done to the cruelties endured by the slaves in Brazil and Cuba; but we may observe, that a principal cause of the great difficulty which exists in the suppression of the slave-trade in those countries, arises from the large demand for fresh hands, to supply the waste of life among those employed in the mines and on plantations. In Surinam a system of the most galling oppression prevails, and has, in a period of little more than twenty years,—destroyed one-third of the slave population formerly existing in that colony. In the Danish West India islands a large portion of the same class has also been destroyed by similar causes, and although the number of slaves in the Danish islands has within the last few years exhibited little decrease, or has been nearly stationary, that result is very far from satisfactory, opposed as it is to the general experience of all free countries. Not only is slavery a murderous system in the countries of which we have spoken, but some of the other features by which it is distinguished are scarcely, if at all, less to be deplored. We allude to the general neglect of intellectual, moral, and religious instruction among slaves—the severe labour usually exacted from them—the cruel punishments to which they are exposed—the deep demoralization incident to their neglected and unprotected state—and finally, the frequent separation of the nearest domestic ties, by sale or otherwise. These results, and many more that we cannot stay to particularize, are the natural fruits of a system founded upon violence and injustice, and which can only exist in a community by the commission of those crimes.

This system of slavery which we have imperfectly sketched, and the existence of which furnishes a never-failing incentive to a



foreign or domestic slave-trade, you whom we address have now for many years sanctioned; and still sanction by your example—a consideration which we trust will be felt to be most serious and painful by not a very small number amongst you.

We rejoice to know that there are some, who having become proprietors or shares in a Brazilian Mining Association, in ignorance of the fact that the company held or hired slaves, are not only dissatisfied with their position as slaveholders; but have besought those with whom they are associated, to restore to the slaves, belonging in law to the company, their rightful freedom. Permit us at the same time to express to you, of whom we have last spoken, and to whose conduct we look with the deepest interest, our decided opinion that you can only escape from being partakers of other men's sins, by a constant renewal of efforts similar to those made by you some years since, and by a frequent protest before the world, so long as your efforts are unsuccessful against an iniquity, perpetrated contrary to your earnest counsel and will. Such steps will, we believe, accomplish their object eventually, and we hope speedily, whilst we cannot doubt that you will feel satisfaction in these efforts on behalf of those whose dearest interests you can not neglect without implicating your character as professed Christians.

The duty incumbent upon British members of foreign mining Associations who have hitherto taken no part in the attempt to procure liberty for the slaves, or who have opposed their emancipation, is no less imperative, than on the part of those to whom we have just alluded. We beseech you, therefore, who have hitherto been indifferent or hostile, where the liberty of your fellow-men is at stake, to be so no longer. We beseech this of you by every consideration of honour, of justice, of humanity, and of religion. Thus may the blessing, and not the curse, of those who are ready to perish, come upon you!

We have heard it asserted that the example of the mild treatment of the slaves of an Anglo-Brazilian mining company, has promoted a better feeling towards that class of persons in Brazil. We possess information, which leads us to disbelieve the statement of the alleged treatment; but were it true, it must be the height of folly to suppose that such a circumstance would influence the conduct exercised towards any considerable portion of three millions of slaves, scattered over the vast territory of Brazil. An example of the abandonment of slave-holding by one, and still more by all of the Anglo-Brazilian Mining Associations, would, it may reasonably be supposed, excite no inconsiderable attention; and might be followed by some of the best disposed among the slaveholders of Brazil. It might also, by the discussion and consideration to which it would lead, prove the first important step towards the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in a country, where those crimes exist upon a stupendous scale. Our remarks on the conduct which we deem it the duty of British holders of Brazilian mining shares to adopt, are no less applicable to the shareholders of mines in Cuba.

We now direct ourselves to those of our fellow subjects who are individually, and not in connection with others, holders of mortgages of slave property in foreign countries.

To those who hold such property unconditionally, we submit that the duty is plain, at once, to give liberty to those whom they have hitherto unjustly deprived of that right. You have the unfettered power to perform this Christian obligation. Can you doubt that this act is required from you by Him who came to preach glad tidings to the poor, to proclaim deliverance to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; who, when upon earth, went about doing good; and who left this injunction to his followers, "whatsoever ye would that others should do to you, do ye even so to them."

To British mortgagees of slave property, we would say:—We deeply regret that by taking the persons of your fellow-men as a pledge, you have become slave-holders; and are consequently responsible for that crime and for the cruelties by which it may be, and generally is, accompanied. You are likewise accountable for the pernicious influence of your example. We entreat you at once to abandon your present conduct; and should those whom you now hold as chattels, fall into your hands from the inability of the mortgagor to repay the advance made, or from any other cause, on you will rest the duty of giving to those men, who are thus shamefully degraded, and wronged, their immediate freedom.

Some among those we address, hire, and do not otherwise use the labour of slaves. This, however, really is but another form of slave-holding. It may exist for a shorter period in some instances,

than is often the case, when slaves are purchased or inherited, but it involves a participation in that injustice by which the slave is deprived of his freedom and of the fair reward of his toil.

We have not hitherto particularly referred to the case of slaves who are held or hired as domestics by Englishmen who reside in foreign countries, or by their agents. Although the treatment of these may, in some instances, be less severe and degrading than that of predial slaves, or of slaves employed in mines, it is liable to the same insuperable objection which exists to all slavery, in the right claimed over the person of the bondman, and in his uncompensated labour. The almost unlimited power possessed in this, as well as in all other cases of slave-holding, is also, in a vast number of instances, attended with a large amount of cruelty.

It may be proper that we should briefly notice the allegations easily made, and which we have seen made in one instance of superior treatment of slaves on the part of companies in which British interests are largely represented, or of individual British slaveholders. It would not be difficult to prove, that the mode of treatment adopted not only by certain mining companies, but by other proprietors, towards their slaves, affords much ground for dissatisfaction apart from the essential wickedness of the system. This might be shewn by the large mortality among the slaves, in many instances, or in other ways equally decisive. A similar pretence of superior treatment we have heard advanced on behalf of slaves, under the rule of subjects of nearly every slave-holding country of Europe, and of those of America and Brazil. If the statement were true in some cases, it does not lessen the duty which devolves upon all slave-holders of abandoning a practice, irreconcilable with the first principles of morality, and over which the cases we have supposed throw a partial and delusive gloss.

In conclusion, we once more beseech each one of you, whom we have addressed, that, for the sake of the slave—for your own sake—in order to maintain a conscience void of offence, and a character without reproach—for the sake of your country's honour; and above all, that you may obey the precepts and promote the advancement of that holy religion which you profess—that you at once take measures to restore to the victims of an intolerable and unchristian oppression, that liberty, to which they have a right no less sacred than your own.

THOMAS CLARKSON.

The following letter from the widow of the late President of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, will be read with deep interest by the friends of the anti-slavery cause on both sides of the Atlantic; and be deemed a sufficient refutation of the plea set up by certain parties, that they are now to be regarded as the representatives of that truly great man. The letter from Mrs. Clarkson is the official acknowledgment of the minute of the Anti-Slavery Committee, relating to the lamented decease of her husband, which was inserted in the last REPORTER:—

Playford Hall, Dec. 24th, 1846.

Dear Sir,—I beg you will assure the Chairman and members of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, that I am duly sensible of their kindness in making a special communication of the resolutions recording their estimation of my deceased husband's character, addressed, as that resolution is, to the wide community of the friends of mankind.

I rejoice that it is in my power to bear testimony to the perfect truth of the statement of the Committee, "that, to the latest period of my husband's existence, the Committee enjoyed his full confidence, and that the measures which they have pursued in promoting the great objects of their Association, were in entire accordance with his mature judgment." At the same time, the character of his mind, equally hopeful and charitable, led him to put the fairest construction on the acts of all the friends of the African race; and he was more inclined to consider all acts which proceeded from other bodies, as varied means for the attainment of the common end, than critically to examine whether such other proceedings and acts were in perfect harmony with those which emanated from the Society of which he was the President. And I am sure that he would have at once repudiated and disclaimed participation in any act which appeared to him capable of being considered directly or by implication, opposed to or at variance with the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

I feel the worth of the sympathy which you have expressed to me in the name of the Committee, and beg you to thank them for it.

I remain, yours, very sincerely,

(Signed,)

CATHARINE CLARKSON.

To John Scoble, Esq.



## NOTICE.

## THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

Is published on the first of every month, at a cost of FIVE SHILLINGS per Annum, payable in advance, if ordered through the Anti-slavery Office; 27, NEW BROAD-STREET, LONDON. It may be supplied, also, through the usual Newsvendors.

The present being a favourable opportunity, we would respectfully urge our friends to use their endeavours to add to the number of our Subscribers.

**The Anti-Slavery Reporter.**

LONDON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 1st, 1847.

The *Times*, with that versatility for which it is distinguished, has, at length, become the advocate of Coolie and African immigration into the British colonies, which, up to a very recent period, it has shown itself forward to condemn. Into the secret of this change we pretend not to penetrate; but we are satisfied that it never did the colonies a greater mischief than it is doing them now, by giving its sanction to the mad schemes of the West India body.

It may be said that the *Times* has the authority of Government for the course which it is now taking; and that the articles which have recently appeared in its columns echo the voice of the Colonial Office. We deeply regret this, if it be true; for it could not fail to damage the reputation of the noble lord who now directs its proceedings, and weaken the general confidence reposed in his wisdom and ability.

Two things are proposed:—First, that the Coolies introduced into Mauritius shall be subjected to restraints of a most galling and oppressive nature, in order to secure their labour to the planters; and, secondly, that the West India colonies shall be allowed to obtain supplies of labourers from other parts of the African continent than those under British control.

Around the poor Coolies, whose unhappy fate may lead them to Mauritius, a net-work, most skilfully contrived, will be thrown, from which they cannot extricate themselves for five years, and which will place them at the mercy of their employers. Supposing the statement in the *Times* to be correct, it follows that no immigrant is to leave the island without a passport until he has completed five years of industrial residence—that is, unless he has been engaged in the culture and manufacture of sugar for that period; but with regard to those who have not completed that term, the passport is to be conditional, on the payment of £1 for every year less than five, and no passage is to be provided. There is to be a register kept of all contracts of service. These contracts are to bear a 40s. stamp, half only of which is to be payable on renewal *between the same parties*. Should the Coolie wish to void the contract, he must give a month's notice, and repay to his master a portion of the stamp equal to the unexpired time of his agreement. In case of absence from labour for less than a week, he is to forfeit his rations and wages, and pay a fine of 2d. per day to his master. Should his absence exceed a week, it is to be deducted in the computation of the term of industrial residence: In other words, he will be required to work it out at the end of the five years, the original period of service. Should any Coolie refuse to labour on an estate, he is to be subjected to a monthly tax, to be paid in advance, or, we suppose, be sent to prison.

The monthly wages of a Coolie in Mauritius is ten shillings, and out of this sum he is to supply himself with clothes, and, indeed, everything beyond the barest necessities. It will be clearly seen from this fact, that, whether from inclination, love of kindred, or health, he wishes to return to India, he cannot do so even at his own expense, unless he pays a heavy sum for a passport. We hold this not only to be un-English, but scandalous. But more than this, if he be under contract, and terminates it legally, he must pay any portion of the stamp held to be due. It would have been more manly had the contrivers of this scheme determined that the Coolies should be indentured for five years to their masters on their arrival in the colony. That, however, would have looked a little too much like slavery, and, therefore, it has been avoided. But the effect of the measure now before the public, will bring about the same result in its practical working, whilst its administration will be infinitely more vexatious. Our Statesmen labour very assiduously to produce an unnatural state of society in the colonies, and then

resort to very unnatural means to perpetuate it. Our hope is that the evil will cure itself.

As to the Mauritius being the spot where the advantages of free over slave-labour is to be tested, it is absurd. The really free labour of that colony has been almost annihilated by Coolie immigration. Where are the emancipated Negroes? They have been driven—we use the word advisedly—from the estates to make way for the imported Indians. To say that they would not work is false; and, if we mistake not, the proof of the falsehood may be clearly seen at Mauritius, in the districts which they now inhabit, and in the improvement visible among them, notwithstanding the discouraging circumstances in which they have been placed.

Coolie immigration has well nigh ruined Mauritius. It has emptied the public treasury of an immense sum of money which ought to have been devoted to public works; it has ruined many private individuals, and embarrassed more; and has laid so heavy a burden of taxation on the inhabitants at large, that they can endure no more. Yet immigration must go on, and labour, in some form or other, must be coerced, or the forced crops of Mauritius will rapidly decline, and the mortgagee have the ruined estates thrown upon his hands. We pity many of the planters in that island who have become the dupes and the prey of certain parties at home, who fatten while they starve; and who, after they have drained them of their last shilling, will throw them by as useless or unworthy.

Thesecond notable expedient for supplying the colonies with labour is the new African scheme. A steamer is to ply between the colonies and the Kroo coast, and thence are to be transported to Guiana, Jamaica, and Trinidad cargoes of Kroomen, for the purpose of raising sugar. We need not tell our readers that the Kroo coast is not within British jurisdiction or control; but subject to its own chiefs. It is not a free country, where the inhabitants are at liberty to labour for themselves or others; to emigrate or stay at home; they are in bondage to their head men; they must be bought, or arrangements, equivalent to purchase, be made with their chiefs, or they never will go to our colonies. The next step we suppose will be to adopt Mr. Hume's suggestion, to enter into competition with the Brazilian and Spanish slave-traders along the whole African coast. This, we know, is earnestly desired by many leading men among the West Indians; and we should not be surprised if the hon. gentleman who represents his brother-in-law, Mr. Burnly, of Trinidad, in the House of Commons, were to make a special motion to that effect during the next session of Parliament. If we are to have free-trade in slave-produce, why not in slaves? Mr. Hume may tell us that he wishes to purchase slaves to make them free men; such a statement can deceive only the most ignorant. The hon. gentleman knows—or, at least, ought to know—that the purchase of slaves on the African coast is the direct incentive to all the horrible atrocities which attend their capture in the interior, and the demoralization and death which are its invariable accompaniments. But were it to be allowed, for one moment, that African slaves might be purchased for the British West Indies, does any one suppose they would be treated as free men? The poor ignorant and helpless creatures would soon find they were free but in name. Contract laws, administered by planter justices, nominal wages, police regulations, and other contrivances, would soon teach them that they had escaped from one species of tyranny only to be subjected to another. But the people of this country will never submit to the slave-trade being re-commenced, under any disguise, or for any pretext whatever; and no Government, however powerful it may be, will dare entertain such a proposition.

We shall wait with anxiety the publication of Lord Grey's despatches relating to these important subjects.

It will be seen by a reference to our correspondence this month, that British Guiana occupies a large share of attention, but not more than the importance of the subjects to which it refers, demands.

The points discussed relate to the bondage ordinance recently passed, on which, by anticipation, the Anti-slavery Committee had memorialized the Government; and the immigration of Africans and Coolies.

The alterations made in the law of master and servant in British Guiana are of so sweeping and comprehensive a character, and withal so barefaced and scandalous in their nature, that we cannot believe that her Majesty's Government will give them the least sanction. As usual the Bill was passed in haste, without giving those most interested in it, any opportunity for discussing its details,



or sending home a protest against it by the last mail. If ever any community were misrepresented, it is that of Guiana. A knot of planters, attorneys and merchants, connected with certain parties at home, joined by a few officials, not one of whom dare act independently, perform the work of legislation. Under such circumstances, it is useless to expect that it should be done fairly and impartially. The only check on the proceedings of public men in the colony is the press; and that they are bent on disarming of its power. The editor of *Emery's Journal* is, we perceive, to be prosecuted under the old Dutch laws for a series of alleged libels and seditious articles; but he has taken refuge in England, until the period when the new laws relating to these matters, and which will allow of trial by jury, come into operation. In the meantime the publisher is to be dragged before the tribunals to answer for the offences of the absent editor. Nor is he the only one to be indicted. The Rev. E. W. Wallbridge, well known to many in this country, and where known respected, has had the boldness to publish a just denunciation of colonial vices, and to stand forward as the intrepid friend of the emancipated classes; and for this he is to be prosecuted. Another party was to have been brought under the infliction of the law, but he has been permitted to escape this time: we allude to the editor of the *Congregational Record*, the Rev. Joseph Ketley. When such men are singled out by the authorities for persecution, for it is nothing less, we may form some idea of the difficulties to be overcome in defending a just cause; and of the character of the persecutors. It is high time that there should be a thorough change introduced into that ill-governed and oppressed colony. Perhaps these prosecutions may open the eyes of the Government to perceive the necessity for their speedy interposition, and for the application of an effectual remedy.

On the subject of immigration, or rather of immigrants now in the colony, our correspondence is truly afflicting. The Coolies and the Madeirans are suffering terribly, and the mortality amongst them is represented to be frightful. The colonial hospital is crowded to excess; and yet it is proposed, during the next three months, to add six thousand Coolies to those already imported, who will have to pass through the same ordeal of misery and death—and for what purpose? Why, that the planters may be able, at the public expense, to reduce the wages of the Creole labourers to the lowest point, or hand them over to starvation. We firmly believe that if the public were fully acquainted with this subject, a mighty voice would be heard throughout the length and breadth of the land, declaring immigration, as at present carried on, to be opposed to justice and humanity, and, no longer to be tolerated in any possession of the British Crown.

The last file of Mauritius papers will be found more than ordinarily interesting to those who take an interest in its affairs.

From the *Cerneen* we learn that ten influential members of the community, merchants and planters, among whom were Messrs. Arbuthnot, Currie, Barlow, and Barclay, have waited upon the governor, Sir William Gomm, respecting the alleged want of labour in the colony and the means of supplying it. This is a startling fact. To go no further back than 1842, it appears from official returns, that, between that period and 1844, upwards of 46,000 Coolies were introduced; to these must be added about 15,000 imported during the years 1845 and 1846—that is to say, in the space of five years Mauritius has absorbed no less than 71,000 Indians, at an enormous expense both to the Government and to the colony, and still cries out for more. To import 6,000 labourers annually from Calcutta and Madras costs the colony about £50,000; but 6,000 are not found sufficient to fill up the chasm made by deaths and removals every year. The deputation, therefore, proposed to Sir W. Gomm to introduce during the coming year, 12,000 Coolies, who should be bound to engage themselves on their arrival at Mauritius, and the expense of whose immigration should be borne by a stamp tax of 45s. for the contract of engagement of each of them. We cannot see very clearly how such stamp tax could be made to cover the expenses of immigration. The cost of introducing 12,000 Indians would be £100,000; the tax, supposing all were indentured, would not amount to more than £25,000, leaving £75,000 to be provided for by the colony, in addition to the large sums of money which must be paid for the return voyage of the Coolies to India, whose period of service will expire during the early part of this year. Now, it is quite clear the colony cannot bear this expenditure without ruin.

At the present moment the circulating capital of Mauritius is found to be inadequate to meet the monthly demand for wages.

How, then, will it be able to meet the demand for further wages and expenses? It may be said, by borrowing; but, admitting that the profits on sugar would enable the borrower to pay twelve per cent. interest, the amount usually exacted, where is the money to come from? "The Mauritius Bank"—we speak on the authority of the *Watchman*—"the Planter's Bank, established for this very purpose, is at a stand; brought to the verge of ruin by this very idolized system of immigration." Have we not all along predicted that it would come to this?

According to the *Mauricien*, Mr. Secretary Gladstone, previously to his quitting office, addressed a despatch to the governor containing various inquiries, the answer to which would guide him in dealing with the whole question of immigration. At the same time he stated that he had "serious objections to the actual state of immigration; above all, that it pays no regard to the progress, social, moral, and religious, of the immigrants, besides being detrimental to the progress of the ancient servile population. He regrets that Indian immigration has only been viewed as a source destined to aliment labour, without endeavouring to attach the Indians to the soil, by cherishing in them the family affections, and sentiments of morals and religion." Have we not reiterated this again and again? We certainly must do Mr. Gladstone the justice of saying that he was the first Colonial Secretary who appeared to feel that the Coolies were something more than mere implements of labour. We honour him for this, and believe it is as true in policy as it is sound in principle to provide for the social welfare of immigrants; and not to leave them, as they now are, in a state of almost brutal degradation, as if they were not human beings.

From the recent communications of "A Constant Reader" to the *Times*, it appears that "the days of the slave-trade are numbered." Among his proofs, he adduces, what, no doubt, he believes to be a fact, that "only 14,244 slaves were imported into Brazil during the year 1840;" and, that as the force employed for its suppression on the coast of Africa has been greatly increased in strength since that period, and the British cruisers are aided in their operations by the squadrons of France and the United States, it must soon disappear—that is, if all nations will agree to treat the inhuman traffic as piracy—which they positively refuse to do.

In an elaborate report on the slave-trade, printed in the slave-trade papers of 1845, the Commissioners at Rio de Janeiro show that the number for slaves imported into that and the adjoining provinces, is 40,000 annually; but that from the secret management of the slave-traders, it is impossible to state the exact amount. Private information carries the number of slaves introduced yearly into Brazil so high as from 80,000 to 100,000. In the latest official papers, (1846), we find it stated, on the highest authority, that "it must be conceded that during the last five years the agricultural interests have prospered, because the importation of slaves has undeniably augmented on this part of the Brazilian coast." (Rio.) It will thus be seen that the expectations founded on the increased power and efficiency of the cruisers has not, and we believe, never will be realized.

On the authority of French papers it is asserted that the British Government have received intelligence, from the western coast of Africa, that a chief had slaughtered 2,000 unfortunate slaves, for whom he could not obtain a purchaser; and that it was the intention of the British Government, in conjunction with the French, to punish the sanguinary chief who committed the cold-blooded murder. We cannot say whether the statement be true or not; but it is well known that the murder of refuse slaves is no uncommon practice on the coast. When will these horrors cease?

We beg to call the attention of our readers to two addresses of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, which appear in our columns this month; the first recommending the disuse of slave produce; and the second, the abolition of slavery on the part of British subjects engaged in plantations or mines worked by slaves. We would express our hope that the year which is now opening upon us, may be marked with increasing exertion in behalf of the oppressed slave, and with increased success to the abolition cause. We commend both to the divine blessing.

Mr. Henry Clapp, jun., of the United States, editor of the *Pioneer*, proposes visiting parts of Ireland and Scotland, and to give lectures on the past history, the present position, and prospects of the anti-slavery cause in that country.



## Poetry.

## ON THE DEATH OF CLARKSON.

"KNOW YE NOT THAT A PRINCE AND A GREAT MAN HATH FALLEN  
THIS DAY IN ISRAEL?"

A great man falls this day!  
Strong to befriend the slave, to break his chain  
By dint of pity, strong to brave the array  
Of proud oppression's reign.  
He was the hero true  
Who clung to right unmov'd—to whom 'twas given  
When wrong prevail'd, the combat to renew,  
Trusting in truth and Heaven.

The warrior's blazonry  
Fills earth's deluded gaze, whilst angels frown;  
But Clarkson's deeds of love and peace to see  
Approving Heaven looks down.

Tell not of stately shrine,  
Or sculptur'd art, chartering his praise to time;  
His record is on high: be works that shine  
Like his, his meed sublime.

A nation's work of love,  
Not to consign immortal deeds to fame;  
But to prolong his labours, but to prove  
Herself worthy his name.

A name that scatters light  
And teaching on his times, proclaims abroad  
How one just man may serve truth, peace, and right,  
By faith that works for God.

WILLIAM BALL.

Rydal, Westmoreland.

#### REPORT OF THE FIRST ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING HELD AT JUBILEE STATION, BIMBIA, WESTERN AFRICA, BIGHT OF BIAFARA.

After singing, reading a portion of the Scriptures, and prayer, the Rev. Joseph Merrick was requested to preside, and in doing so briefly adverted to the evils of slavery in itself, and the numerous other evils which were its natural concomitants. He concluded by entreating the friends at the station, though few in number, not only to exert themselves for the liberation of the millions which were held in unrighteous bondage, but to manifest their love of liberty, both of mind and body, by carefully abstaining from any act calculated in the remotest degree to injure or oppress their fellow-men.

Mr. ALEXANDER FULLER, in moving the first resolution, said, My Christian friends and brethren, I am placed in rather a difficult position by being called upon to move the first resolution, but in working in a cause like ours, and knowing as we do that it is not only our cause but the cause of God, we must forget our difficulties, let them be what they may, and go forward in the strength of our Heavenly King. The text contained in this resolution suits me well. I am a native of Jamaica, and was present in the Spanish Town Chapel with thousands of my brethren in Christ on that glorious morning when the light of liberty burst on our lovely island. I was not silent, but with heart and tongue praised the God of liberty. A vast number of people congregated together that day to manifest their joy on account of the abolition of slavery. Sir Lionel Smith addressed us, and such was the state of his heart that the words flowed from his lips like water from a fountain; and what appeared to me highly gratifying was, that men and women who were themselves formerly slave-holders took part in the rejoicing of the day, and appeared themselves as happy as the emancipated slave. What but the gospel could have done this? Once their hearts were hard—their bowels of mercies were shut up, but now they rejoiced with those that rejoiced; and we know that the gospel can work powerfully in America and shake to pieces that stronghold of oppression and slavery; and we, my friends, who are here to-day, must assist, must do something in this work; slavery was not abolished in the British West Indies without a great struggle and much work. And now that the Lord has broken the yoke there, we must pray to him to do the same in America and in other parts where slavery still reigns. I have, my friends, seen a great deal of cruelty in my own country. Sometimes twenty were flogged in one day, and, what seems so very strange, the flogging work was not unfrequently performed before the door of the parish church. These same things, and worse, are this day going on in America, Cuba, and other parts, and we must raise up our feeble voice against them. We are few in number, but the Lord does not despise the day of small things. Though we are few, let our faith be strong and our expectations great. Let it be known even in America, that a few feeble Christians assembled at Bimbia, on the continent of Africa, on the 1st of August, 1846, and lifted up their voices

to God—to the just and merciful God, against the monstrous wrong of slavery; let them know that we feel for the slave and feel also for the slave-holder, and will never cease praying for both while we have breath.

Mr. PETER NICHOLS, in seconding the resolution, said, My Christian friends, I know something of slavery in my own country, for I have seen how they treat the poor slaves in the Eboe country. And this day one thought rests much on my mind. My poor mother died before I left it, and this day I don't know where all my brothers are, whether they are in their own country, or America, or Brazil. Ah! slavery is indeed bad, and all of us that pray to God in truth must often remember the poor slaves. God only knows the time when the chain of slavery will be broken. When I remember that place which I passed through in coming to Bonny, called Irdoki, my heart bleeds. On every large tree a man was hanging as a sacrifice to some of their false gods. When I remember that Irdoki is so near Bonny, and that so many white people go to Bonny and yet such bad things are done there, I don't know what to think. But even the Bonny people themselves use the slaves as bad as at any other place; they throw them into the sea at pleasure as sacrifices, and do what they please with them. When I arrived at Bonny, and came into the land of the Spanish people, I saw two baracoons, each had about 700 people. One night, a man in one of the baracoons tried to run away, and as soon as the Bonny people discovered it, they all came armed with muskets and fired away upon the poor slaves. Out of 700 in the baracoons, I don't think more than ten were left; the next morning, canoe after canoe were to be seen carrying the dead bodies to throw them into the sea. When they put me on board the slave-ship, my friends, oh! what a sight! How they stow palm oil in the ship is nothing to be compared to the stowing away of the poor people in the slave-ship. You know, my friends, how we stow yams when we purchase them at Buby; so they stowed us in the ship; the heat of the ship killed the poor people. [The Rev. J. Clarke here exhibited a plate in "Clarkson on the Slave-trade" in illustration of what Mr. Nichols had just said.] Thank God, my friends, they had not the power to take me to Cuba, or Brazil, or America to make me a slave. The British man-of-war took the ship, and carried us to Fernando Po, or perhaps to-day they would have been drawing tom cat on our back as they do in America. Thank God we are free; and not only free, but have heard this good word of Jesus Christ. We ought to pray that God Almighty would in his mercy break the chain of the slave, and we ought to beg him to send the gospel to the interior of Africa. Oh! when I remember Eboe, and Atim, and Afa, and all those other places where they have not heard the good word, I ask myself, When, when shall the gospel reach them? But what is impossible to man is possible with God. Let us go on to pray, my friends.

Mr. W. NEWBIGIN, in moving the second resolution, said, He was glad to see the interest manifested by the friends on this anniversary of emancipation in the British West India colonies, especially by the Jamaica friends, many of whom were this day eight years ago delivered from temporal bondage. You, my friends, may form some idea of the interest felt by the friends in the West Indies by the feelings which pervade your own minds to-day, and I do hope and pray that our brethren in the West and especially in Jamaica, now that they have tasted the goodness and the mercy of the Lord, will not forget the obligations of their new position; but act in such a way as to convince the world that they can use their liberty aright, and while using it still regard themselves as bound with those that are in bonds. We have heard something to-day of the evils of slavery. Among those evils nothing is more deeply to be lamented—more cruel, than the endeavours of slave-holders to keep their slaves in ignorance; while the mind is untutored, and the slave kept in darkness, slavery will be rampant, and it is a knowledge of this fact that has led the greater number of the slave-states in America to enact laws punishing all who attempt to teach the slaves to read. Ignorance, mental darkness, is one of the greatest curses of slavery. They may tell us of the benevolence of some slave-holders, they may tell us of their love to their slaves, but where is the love—where the benevolence where the energies of the mind are not allowed to develop themselves? The gospel of Christ is not placed within the reach of the poor slave, and he must therefore remain ignorant of its precepts, its consolatory promises, and its blessings. I often think of the so called rebellion in Jamaica in 1832. It was begun by an intelligent man named Sharpe; he quietly sat down and said, "No man ought to be compelled to work against his will," others followed his example—a great many sat down, and had the majority of slaves the wisdom to carry out this principle of passive resistance, it would have been far better for them, than resorting to the woods to fight for their liberty. But notwithstanding the efforts of the pro-slavery folks to arrest the progress of truth, the day of freedom came, and oh, what a day! while many of the slave-holders were making preparations to stop riots, and to keep the emancipated slave in order, truth shone forth in all its glorious effulgence—the emancipated slaves needed no police—no armed men to keep them in order; they resorted to the house of God—bended the knee at the throne of grace, and blessed God for the liberty they had received. But, my friends, how small a portion of the oppressed Africans and their descendants are free, when compared with the vast slave population in America, and other parts of the world. And oh, what a monstrous curse



American slavery is ! We speak of Jamaica slavery, but American bondage is in many respects far worse. Just now there is a great struggle going on between the slave and free states of America. A petition was lately presented to Congress by John Quincy Adams on the subject of slavery, and you may judge of the agitation to which it gave rise, when one of the pro-slavery members arose and said, that nothing but the respect which he held for the chair, prevented him from tearing the petition to atoms. Should the report of this meeting ever reach America, I should like it to be regarded as a remonstrance from us against the evil of slavery—an evil which has even entered the Church of America, and is every day depriving her of her vitality.

MR. LYNDERT BYL felt much pleasure in seconding the resolution, and in taking part in the good work of the day. We were called upon in the Scriptures to rejoice with those that rejoice, and weep with those that weep, and it is certainly our duty to feel for our brethren and sisters, who are suffering bitter bondage in various parts of the world. I trust I shall be enabled to assist this good cause, not only by my prayers, but contributions, and if all of us endeavour to do this, we shall very much cheer the hearts of our dear friends in England. We must also entreat our Heavenly Father to send many from Jamaica who have been in slavery themselves, to proclaim liberty to the captive.

MR. TRUSTY said, This day eight years, my friends, I and thousands of my friends in Jamaica, received our liberty. But how did we get our freedom? Through the good men that our God sent to that island. They were very watchful in the work; they did not sleep; they did not neglect the great work which God gave them to do. When the first man of God, Mr. Nichols, came to that part where I lived, I was wild; I only saw him once, then martial law came on, and they drove Mr. Nichols out of the parish. Mr. Coultart next came, and under him I was brought to know something of the gospel. Then, by and by, the apprenticeship came on, and we were all bound for six years. I think our minister, Mr. Clarke, was in Africa at that time. Our masters took a great advantage of us, and treated us worse than in the days of slavery, and said they would kill us all before liberty came. At that time, the white people were very fond of me; they chose me to side with them; but by this time the gospel had touched my heart, and I could not oppress my brethren. One day, the overseer sent the bookkeeper to fetch me to him, and said to me, "You see, you can make the people work; you can drive them; but you won't even speak to them. Now, if you will let the people work, we will treat you well, and let your wife sit down, and not do anything; but if you don't, we will punish you." But all this could not remove the gospel out of my heart. In the meantime, the good friends in England sent out a number of Testaments to be distributed among the people; Bibles, too, were sold very cheap; so that we began to learn to read the word of God for ourselves. We could now attend the house of God regularly, and all of us, old and young, used to go to hear the word of life. By and by, the apprenticeship was cut short, full liberty came, and all of us went to the house of God to bless and praise him. The overseers and bookkeepers themselves seemed to rejoice. Next morning we went to chapel to see the cow-chain and cow-whip burnt. The Lord has indeed done great things for us. When I was a lad, no man could dare look on a piece of paper. They gave me a good flogging once, because they found I could not, after my conversion, take part with them in beating the people; and because my wife wept on account of my ill-treatment, they put her in the bilboes, and flogged her. The first letter that came, telling us that Mr. Clarke was in Africa, touched the hearts of many of us. Our pastor then called upon his people to prepare for Africa. That day, many people looked upon me in the meeting, and said, "We see, we know, that you are going away soon; you are not to remain here; you are to go to Africa." After service, my minister, Mr. Clark, of Brown's Town, called to see me, and said, "Now, Mr. Trusty, I hope your affections for Africa are still the same. You must prepare to meet Mr. Clarke." Three years have passed since I first offered myself, but my mind is just the same. I find that a man must know a great deal to do the work of God in this land; and I feel that I know very little. I hope, however, that my dear minister, Mr. Clarke, will not leave me alone. I have no desire to go back to Jamaica. What do I want in Jamaica? There is plenty of work to be done here. Let us then be strong in prayer, then God will arise and do his work.

The REV. JOHN CLARKE, in moving the third resolution, said, This resolution refers to much that has already been said. We have heard of the evils of slavery, and of its direful consequences; and sincerely do I hope, that we shall set our faces against it. However well a man may be used, as respects his food, clothing, and so on; if he is compelled to labour against his will; if he is not honestly and justly paid for his labour; he is a slave. If his liberty is in any way abridged, we can make no compensation to that man by kind treatment in other respects. Don't suppose, my friends, that any man can be well treated, while his liberty is in the hands of another. And, as a general thing, we do not find that slave-holders treat their slaves very kindly, though there is always a great deal of talk on that subject. Had I time to read all I have marked, contained in the books which I have brought with me, you would become better acquainted than you are with the fearful evils of slavery; but as

these things have been much dwelt upon already, I shall say little about them, but urge on you the necessity of feeling yourselves bound with those who are in bonds. Brother Trusty thought I was in Africa, in 1834, when the Apprenticeship System was introduced in the British West India colonies. I was not in Africa, but in America, three hundred miles inland, in the state of New York; and such is the baneful influence of slavery on the minds, even of the ministers of the gospel, in that country, that a Baptist minister, through fear, declined allowing us to assemble in his chapel to praise the Lord for what he had done for the slaves in the British West Indies. We at length got a little upper room, and about fifty of us assembled that day, and poured out our hearts in praises and thanksgiving to God. That good man, Gerrit Smith, was present, and conducted the business of the meeting. American slavery is, my friends, really appalling—as bad as slavery can possibly be: men and women are burnt to death by slow fires, hunted down by blood-hounds, and treated worse than the brute. It is no uncommon thing, in looking at an American newspaper, to see advertisements of runaway slaves, which themselves afford ample testimony of the cruelties inflicted on them. [Mr. Clarke then read several advertisements, having reference to runaway slaves.] We feel for them, and for those in Cuba, who are suffering under the Spaniards. They are, I fear, worse off than the Jamaica slaves ever were. We feel for those in America, and other parts of the mis-called civilized world; and we must feel for the slaves in Africa—for those at Bimbia, where we live. We know, we daily see their pitiable condition. Any free man can kill his slave at pleasure—can throw him into the sea, and drown him. A white man may murder his slave with impunity: this was done not many months ago, on the little island near us; and the white man is still on that island. A slave here is considered as of no more consequence than a bullock: he is not regarded as a being made in the image of God, as a brother for whom Christ shed his precious blood: he is not looked upon as one who must to all eternity suffer indignation and anguish, or attain to happiness and joy: his value, as an immortal being is not thought of. Oh, let us feel for the slaves around us, and especially for those bound by the fetters of the devil. Now, my friends, here is work for us: we must exert ourselves to deliver our fellow-men from Satan's yoke. It is a great mistake to suppose, that, unless we know a great deal, we can do no good. We must do all the good we can, and not find fault about our want of knowledge; this must not stop us from working. If a man cannot lay out the ground and sow the seed, he can cut down the trees. Before I sit down, let me again implore you to set your faces against slavery; set them against it here. When I came over to Bimbia, some months ago, I found a number of shackles lying in a corner of the house which was given to Brother Merrick, by King William, to live in. Mark the change which has now taken place. If any one makes use of the labour of another without paying him, he is acting the part of a slave-holder. Don't think, that feeding and clothing a man is sufficient; he must be paid for his services. If your servants wish to leave you, and you put them in the guard-house, as is sometimes done at Clarence, you act the part of slave-holders. Every master and mistress must hire their servants, and pay them faithfully. If you hire them for three months, and they break their agreement, then the fault is not yours. If you wish to set your face against slavery, you must begin at home, and then you will be able to work effectually against it abroad. I trust that the report of this meeting will do good: it may, perhaps, find its way into the American papers, and the friends of liberty there will rejoice to hear, that in this heathen land, an anti-slavery society has been formed, not to be given up speedily, but, I hope, to become stronger and stronger from year to year.

MR. PHILLIPS—My Christian friends, I don't at all feel myself well on this occasion; but if I don't speak, I won't be able to rest. Great, indeed, my friends, is the goodness of God. Many of our friends here don't know much about slavery, but I can tell them something about it; for I was once a slave. Slavery is a bad thing; and if any man will only set his mind to think on slavery, he will find, in truth, that it is a bad thing. It gives me much pleasure to be able to stand up to-day, and meet with our ministers and friends, to speak of our poor brethren and sisters who are yet under the yoke of bondage. My good God has brought me to this land to tell my brethren their danger—to tell them of the glad tidings of salvation; and I rejoice, to-day, that I have been brought to Africa. When in my own country, I have suffered much on account of the blessed gospel, but my God helped me to be steadfast. One time, I was called up and twenty-five stripes were given to me, because I would not oppress my brethren and sisters. Before I knew the gospel, I used to drive them beyond their strength, to please the overseer; but when the gospel touched my heart, I could not again oppress them. Instead of flogging my fellow-men as I used to do, I put down the whip, and looked to Jesus Christ. My overseer then called me up, and said, "Look at this man; he won't hear a word that is said to him; but if you don't do your duty, we will send you to the workhouse." Matters went on this way, till they sent me to St. Ann's workhouse for nine weeks, where I received twenty-five lashes. My punishment, they told me, was on account of my soft nature, because I would not let the people do their work. I was sentenced to hard labour in the workhouse, but this did not discourage



me; I continued to press on; for I knew that by and by, God would come to our deliverance. Truly, my friends, we ought this day to pray with all our hearts for our friends in Jamaica, who laboured and suffered in our behalf, and also for our friends in England. We must not forget America, and our countrymen in slavery there; we must not forget Africa; and we must not only work here for Africa, but send word to Jamaica, and call on our friends to wrestle hard for the poor people among whom we are labouring. Many of you here, my friends, were being taken by Spanish ships to slave countries; but our good God interfered, and caused you to fall into the hands of the English. Now, you must not forget those who are in bondage; for if the Lord had not come forward in your behalf, your hard task-masters would perhaps to-day have been ill-treating you.

MR. WHITFIELD—My Christian friends, we ought to give God great praise for his goodness to us. What has been said to-day about America, is quite true. I have been much in the western states of America, and have seen much cruelty, much flogging, much carrying of the poor slaves from place to place; but, blessed be God, that there are a people in America that don't hold slaves, nor will they hire a slave from his master. If a slave gets a holiday, and wishes to work for himself, the Quakers will hire him, but not otherwise. I have seen bells and horns hanged upon the poor slaves; they are often put in the stocks; and when they go to the fields in the morning, they never return home till night, at seven o'clock. Sometimes they turn out as early as four o'clock. I have seen the poor slaves going in chains to Georgia (four and five in one chain) and to New Orleans, to be sold. I have seen six guns fired at once at one man; I have seen the slaves tied to cart wheels, and cut up; but the time will come, when the Lord will take the cause of the slave in his own hands.

MR. NEWBIGIN briefly moved the fourth resolution.

MR. WHITE seconded the resolution, and said, he was glad to see another anniversary of liberty. He could not say that he ever experienced the evils of slavery himself; but he has seen his fellow-men in trouble, and heard of the tread-wheel. But God has been very merciful to his people, and has made them free; and he hoped all would unite to endeavour to stop slavery, and that all who remained at Jubilee, would make jubilee together.

MR. WILLIAMS.—My Christian friends, this is indeed a glorious day. It was on this day, eight years ago, that we felt the goodness of the Lord. All that the friends have said about the evils of slavery is very true, for I have myself experienced a great deal. I myself was in the midst of it, in the West Indies. [After similar remarks to those made by former speakers, he proceeded.] Mr. Nichols, my friends, was our first minister. The Sunday night that martial law was proclaimed, Mr. Nichols sent for us, and gave us good advice. The overseers, at that time, had a great deal of power. Early on Monday morning, the overseer jumped into the corn-field, tied my hands with two silk handkerchiefs, and dragged me away. All the people began to say, "What has George Williams done now!" All the friends began to grieve. And what was my crime? The overseer said I preached in the house, last night; and therefore he would put me in the dark room, and feed me on dry corn and water. They put me in bilboes; and then the overseer told me, that I must get ready to go to the Clarendon workhouse. After I had stopped in the workhouse three months, Mr. Gallimore, the keeper of the workhouse, said, "I don't know why this man was brought here; there is no charge against him." They carried me to the court-house, to try me, but no one brought any charge against me. O, my friends, slavery is indeed a bad thing! When I was ready to come to Africa, my dear wife fell sick, and she became in a short time so ill, that I began to fear that I would have to stop behind. When my wife heard this, she said, "Oh, no! if I am ever so sick, don't stop behind! go to Africa! remember Africa! Don't stop on my account." Before I left, my dear wife died; and now that I am come to Africa, though I don't know how to write, yet I can tell my brethren of Jesus Christ. I can tell those who are sitting in the region of darkness to come to Christ, and he will give them light. I cannot but feel for my brethren and sisters in America, for I myself have felt the bitterness of slavery.

The Rev. J. CLARKE, in seconding the resolution, stated the object of the Anti-Slavery Society, and said he hoped we should have anti-slavery meetings every three months, and thus keep up an interest in the good and righteous cause.

Twenty-six persons became annual subscribers to the newly-formed auxiliary; after which, the meeting was closed by prayer.

#### SLAVERY IN THE DANISH WEST INDIA COLONIES.

At a meeting of the Provincial Estates, held at Roeskilde, on the 23rd of July last, the question of emancipation was brought forward by Professor David, when the following communication was made to the Assembly:—

In the year 1844 we took the liberty of presenting a petition to the Assembly of the Estates at Roeskilde, praying for the abolition of slavery in the Danish West India Islands.

The said petition was referred to the consideration of a committee, but as no important results followed therefrom, we take the liberty of again laying the same before the honourable Assembly now convened; it being now, as formerly, our firm conviction that it is the duty of a Christian and civilized country to effect the abolition of slavery, notwithstanding the difficulties which may seem to attend it.

From what has taken place in the course of the last two years, we find that our former views have been corroborated. On the one hand, the happy results of English emancipation daily become more evident, especially in those islands which bear a resemblance to the Danish West India colonies. Events, on the other hand, tend to show, more particularly in the Spanish colonies, what cruelties must be resorted to, in order to keep up the system of slavery.

The facts recently established in the French colonies, would seem to warrant the conclusion that it is only by a simultaneous and total abolition of slavery that the object can be attained. Moreover, the conviction has of late been constantly gaining ground, that the atrocious traffic in slaves, notwithstanding all that has been done to prevent it, has actually increased, and that there is but one way of putting it down—viz., the abolition of slavery itself.

In Sweden, important steps have been taken towards the abolition of slavery in its West India possessions. Another fact worthy of notice is, that slavery has lately been abolished in Tunis, a state not professing Christianity, that, a short time ago was numbered among the piratical states, and which in point of civilization is very far inferior to Denmark.

We do not now consider it, any more than we did in 1844, as coming within our province to offer a detailed plan of emancipation, nor do we even wish to elicit such a one on the part of the States, in consideration of the shortness of the time that could be spared from the other labours of the session for such a task. But in like manner as we, impressed as we are with the conviction that the total abolition of slavery in our colonies is an act of justice, as imperatively commanded by religion and humanity, as it is urgently required by the true interests of the mother country and the colonies, do consider it our duty to give utterance to this conviction: so also do we hope and trust that the States, after due deliberation on the subject, will adopt the same view which we ourselves entertain, and which we venture to believe is entertained by a great portion of the people, and that the States will accordingly, by means of an humble petition to his Majesty, represent to the government the necessity and advantage of the total abolition of slavery taking place within a certain and brief period throughout the Danish West India possessions.

(Signed)

J. N. DAVID, Professor.

D. G. MONRAD, M.A.

— RAFFARD, Pastor.

N. T. S. GRUNTWIG, Parish Priest.

— SCHOW, Professor.

Copenhagen, July 12, 1846.

The Assembly for the purpose of considering the matter, appointed, by a majority of 57 votes to 4, a committee of five members—viz., Professor David, by a majority of 58 votes; Mr. Hansen, of 47; Count Knuth, of 45; the Rev. Mr. Plessner, of 44; and Alderman Hansen of 30 votes. On the 22nd the committee presented its report, which we intend to give in our next.

#### THE NEW PANACEA FOR THE WEST INDIES.

(From a Correspondent.)

Government is about to try to save our sugar-colonies, not by generally and unsparingly reducing the expenses of the several local administrations, nor by discountenancing the mischievous practice of absenteeism, nor by conceding institutions favourable to the progress of self-government, nor by abolishing unjust taxes on free colonial produce brought into the mother-country; but by adding one project more to the sundry immigration schemes already tried with so conspicuous want of success. The Jamaica House of Assembly, in which it cannot be with propriety affirmed, that the mass of the population of that island are quite unrepresented, expresses a formal determination to enforce economy in every branch of the public expenditure: therefore, the members are informed they are impatient and hot, and cannot expect to be listened to, before they shall have cooled down. A few gentlemen of British Guiana, highly respectable, but all belonging to a particular section of a not numerous class of the community, send to England a memorial, in which, one most extraordinary assertion is made—"That the colony is content to continue to bear the expense of the transport of African immigrants, provided only, that Parliament, in its wisdom, would more effectually check the slave-trade, by substituting, for an expensive blockade on the coast of Africa, a system of encouragement to the potentates of the African continent, to allow their subjects to profit, as free men, by the civilization now in progress amongst their unindentured brethren in the West Indies." Upon their word, a daily journalist, recently admitted to the confidence of the Colonial Office, announces, that a Government immigration-steamer is immediately to be established, to ply between the West Indies and the Kroo coast.



Possibly, this notable expedient may be designed merely for the entertainment of the West India proprietors, during the approaching parliamentary session, and the diversion of their thoughts and efforts from an agitation which might embarrass the Ministry. Regarded in this light, it is, at least, a piece of Court mockery, and calculated to be pernicious, as procrastinating the reforms in agricultural management, in which, eventually, the safety of those settlements will be found mainly to consist. But if there is a *bonâ fide* intention, by means of the new undertaking, to transport as many Africans to the West Indies as shall render competition with slave possessions equal, then, if Wilberforce and Clarkson did not live in vain, must every English philanthropist bestir his energies for a fresh struggle, even at the risk of being nicknamed, in the barbarous cant of the day, "a humanitarian."

Suppose—which has been disputed in an intelligent quarter—that the Kroomen are free, nor, being the coloured agents of man-dealers, liable themselves to be kidnapped in turn; no Secretary of State could lend himself to the practice of deception upon ignorant strangers. Since the date when the latest tariffs of the rates of remuneration to agricultural labourers in (for example) Guiana were industriously circulated in Africa, a great change has occurred: wages have been reduced, tasks augmented, or more strictly enforced, allowances and perquisites stopped. If, then, the Kroomen be fairly dealt with, they will be informed of all this, and will be told, moreover, that no hope can be held out of an alteration for the better, since the protection to free produce, and, therefore, the ability of the growers of it to pay their hands liberally, are to be diminished every successive year. But what is actually the expectation pretended to be formed regarding these Kroomen? That their outstanding obligations in their own country, whether arrears of servitude, or common civil debts, shall be bought off; their decent outfit, and comfortable passage out, paid for; schools and churches, judges, magistrates, and police, maintained on their account; and a passage home, at the close of a certain term of years, provided them; but yet, that while the cost of their introduction is thus screwed up so high, the rate of wages to every individual shall be screwed down so low, that, on the whole, such immigrants, "profiting, as free men, by the" current "civilization," will cost less than as many slaves, kept in the condition of brute cattle. Did any "humanitarian" ever broach an idea so preposterous as this?

Not long ago we were assured that all would be well with British Jamaica if only Madras and Calcutta were thrown open to her transports. Whoever called in question the prudence of undertaking an extensive scheme of Indian immigration was stigmatised as an enemy to the colony. Teased with the incessant applications of the leading men, whether in England or on the spot, Government at length yielded a reluctant consent, and a scheme of operations which may be termed stupendous was begun. An amount of money, so large as to be almost incredible, was laid out for mere importation; where the Coolies have fallen sick or died, the sum has been increased by heavy hospital and funeral charges; an unavoidable obligation to provide a return passage for all the survivors has been incurred, irrespectively of their serviceableness in the meanwhile. To meet the continual drain on the colonial chest, the necessities of life have been taxed so highly that the peasantry cannot subsist on low wages; and, notwithstanding all this, it is confessed by the projectors themselves (petition to the Commons, October 19, 1846, section 1), that "little or no appreciable effect has yet been produced on the price or efficiency of labour." As far as the West Indies are concerned, *The Times* is silent about Coolie immigration, as about an expedient now exploded and not to be resorted to again. Not much prescience is requisite to enable one to foresee, that, after abundance of treasure has been squandered, the wild forays to the Kroo coast will be abandoned in the same manner.

Had the intention been to derange and fling into confusion the relations of colonial society generated by slave emancipation, a more ingeniously effectual plan than the system unhappily at work in British Guiana could not have been devised. The cultivation of sugar is a kind of employment that requires much hard industry and some expertness. From no quarter of the world have as yet been procured labourers, comparable in both respects to the native peasantry, when they turn to their work with good will. This every practical man knows. Policy, therefore, dictates, that this description of persons should not be wantonly disgusted; whereas it is the wont of many planters, as soon as a new immigration bubble boils up, to taunt the Creoles, saying they will soon be able to do without them, or get them to work in spite of their necks; for that plenty of people are coming from Madeira, India, or Krooland, as the case for the moment may be. The irritation of feeling naturally resulting is not allayed by the reflection which penetrates the humblest cottages, that it is the Creoles who are almost exclusively taxed to defray the cost of bringing in their interloping rivals. By and by the bubble bursts. The strangers do not come, or turn out to be worse than worthless. Meanwhile, however, time and seasons have been lost, and with infinite expense and trouble must be retrieved the agriculture, which reasonable good management would have kept up.

The amiable "potentates of the African continent," who, when shipping is scarce and freight high, and they cannot export human flesh, kill it, are to be invited by the Minister for the Colonies, at the bidding of the

gentlemen calling themselves "*the colony*" of British Guiana, to send their subjects to that refined and virtuous settlement for their "civilization," the condition of the education of the pupil being, that he shall aid in "producing an appreciable effect on the price and efficiency of labour" in the raising of sugar. During the dreary term of acclimatizing and local-hospitaling, nay, up to the period when the benevolent process of "civilization" shall have commenced, it is obvious that the subjects of the "potentates of the African continent" will be liable to be maltreated and robbed by their guardians and schoolmasters.

For a future article may be reserved a notice of the indications, on Lord Grey's part, of an intention that the injustice unquestionably done to the planters in our sugar colonies by a partial application of the rules of free-trade, shall be compensated by the confirmation of local enactments, directly tending to the re-establishment of slavery. Such are the statutes making the "misbehaviour" of the employed definable by the employer, and transferring the jurisdiction over contracts of service from stipendiary to planting magistrates.

Suffice it, for the present, with reference to the facility with which his lordship seems to have become the dupe of the British correspondents of "the potentates of the African continent," to the detriment of the rights of the natives and residents of the West Indies, to quote an apophthegm attributed to a noble colleague of his, to the purport, "that no statesman is so readily misled by designing people as he who plumes himself on a self-relying prosecution of his own crotchets."

So much for this *Kroo crotchets*!

#### NEW BONDAGE ORDINANCE.

Georgetown, Demerara, Nov. 16th, 1846.

(From our Correspondent.)

You may have observed, in the *Royal Gazette* of the 1st October, the draft of a bill for "*Regulating the rights, duties, and relations of employers and servants in the Colony of British Guiana.*" Since that date nothing further was seen or heard of it till *Wednesday last*, the 10th instant; and it appeared to me that the concoctors of it must have thought it too bad, or too complicated to bring it to further notice, unless greatly modified. I perceive, however, that the bill, after this long interval, was proceeded with, and brought to the third reading and PASSED on *Friday last*, the 12th. I find no report in the papers of the first twenty clauses; indeed I understand that no reporter was in court during the discussion of them. They, however, are of the greatest importance to the labouring people, and, if they are continued as in the draft, are amazingly complicated, as relates to the contracts written and IMPLIED, the implied contracts being of that character that will leave the whole band of labourers and servants at the caprice of their employers; indeed I see nothing to prevent the greatest severity of oppressiveness under the protection of IMPLIED CONTRACTS, a most indefinite, a most unfair, a most oppressive sort of contract conceivable, leaving the ignorant and the innocent an unconscious prey to the designing. A part of the Court's conversation (discussion is a word too dignified to employ to set forth the palaver of our law-makers), as the bill proceeded in committee on Thursday, the 11th, when, as above intimated, they advanced from the twentieth clause, will, I think, confirm the idea of its oppressive operation in a country like this, where the masters have all in their own hands, without a single check on the employers from the labourers, except any express provision be made in their behalf of a distinct and specific character.

On the clause imposing a penalty for enticing a labourer to quit his employer's service—a shameful clause I judge it must be—Mr. Croal proposed an amendment (*not reported*, but the nature of which may be fairly implied, from what follows, as sensible and proper, and, had it been adopted, a measure of protection to the labourer). He (Mr. Croal) considered "It was not enough that one party should go to another and say, '*You have my servant in your employ,*' and then proceed for recovering the penalty. That was not sufficient notice. If the labourer had made a written contract, the contract could be produced; and then, if the party continued to employ the servant of another, he should do so with his eyes open to the consequences. But in the case of an implied contract the proof would be in the conviction of the servant. The bare ipse dixit of no man was to be admitted in a case of that kind. Why, labourers might go to an employer and ask for work. Was he to be fined for employing them? In the case of a gang fifty labourers might be employed in the same way, and the employer would have to deal with but one man, who made an engagement for the whole."

Now, though it is plain Mr. Croal sought the protection of employers from the troubles which may come upon them through the disgraceful indefiniteness of implied contracts (insomuch that it will be impossible for them to know when a servant may be under contract without making specific inquiry of their former employer, and thus leave the servant under the power of the ipse dixit of any employer who may choose to say, '*That man is under an implied contract with me*'), yet the adoption of his amendment would at least give the labourer some hope of escape from an employer's grasp, by reason of the employer being compelled to pass through the process of convicting the servant of the breach of an



*implied contract*, before being able to prosecute another employer for having employed him before producing his discharge. Mr. Croal therefore had no second, the other sagacious master-law-makers foreseeing the danger. I beg you to observe Mr. Stewart's objection to Mr. Croal's amendment; he said, "If any one were cautioned that he had in his service a servant who had left the employ of another, and he still continued such servant in his employ, he could not reasonably complain of not having had due notice. If he said he must have proof, let him have it where he would have to pay the penalty." Mr. Rou was decidedly against the amendment proposed, because he said it would vitiate the whole. Of course it would, to a certain extent; and the very declaration plainly shows what will be the baneful operation of this law if it be allowed from home. *It will be "MAJOR FAGAN" in operation in Guiana, WITHOUT THE NEED of enacting the Trinidad Coolie slave-code clauses, as the whole force of them might be called into play without the offensiveness of their express embodiment into form, exciting the indignation of the haters of oppression.* The exquisite sagacity of all this none can question—yet may the wise be taken in their own craftiness. In this they appear to have out-Faganned Fagan himself.

I am afraid the publication of the law, as passed, will not be published before the mail leaves, and thus we shall neither have an opportunity of petitioning against it until after it has been sent home in the Governor's despatches, and, possibly, have gained consent of the Colonial Minister. Should it be published before the mail leaves, and I am made aware of it, I will send you a copy; but whether or not, if you can gain access to the Colonial Office, to prevent the calamity which its passing will create, by all means employ your influence. I am sure, if set in agitation here, it will make a commotion—a general dissatisfaction; and, under the present excited state of the mind of the labourers (not clamorous, indeed, yet in a sort of under-current sort of excitement, owing to these prosecutions now in progress), I should fear to write or say much about them at present. But you may gather from what I have mentioned above, 1st, That implied contracts, which the master alone can determine, will place every labourer who may perform the smallest work completely within the master's power. 2nd, That the master alone has the power to determine when a servant is thus under contract; so that a servant cannot be at liberty to engage himself to another (and in the case of the ignorant and the stranger, who is allowed no interpreter, never can be able), so long as that power lasts. 3rd, That should a servant engage himself to another employer that employer dares not permit him to remain in his service, if any one should step forward and say, "You have my servant in your employ;" for, says Mr. Stewart, "If he must have proof, let him have it when he would be made to pay the penalty." 4th, That though an employer should have no other proof than his own word for a man being under "an implied contract" to him, he has the power of holding that man, so as to prevent him from engaging himself to another employer.

But I need not draw inferences; these, and more besides, of a most appalling kind will at once suggest themselves to you as the necessary result of such a law of contract. Said Mr. Stewart, "for his part he would never proceed against a servant for a breach of contract when he could proceed against the party who seduced that servant from the employ in which he had been engaged." So you see, *to employ a servant who applies to you for work, though under no contract to another employer, except as that employer shall assert on his own IPSE DIXIT to be an IMPLIED one—is interpreted to be, on your part, "seducing that servant," or, as Mr. Arrindell, the attorney-general, said "enticing servants from their employ."* And if you do not choose to receive the said *ipse dixit* you are to be proceeded against before those whose interest it may be to give judgment against you for your want of implicit confidence in their veracity. Nor, from what I hear from one who was in court during a part of the discussion, is this feature the worst of it; to view the whole therefore the Bill itself must be seen. *Enough however to take notice of—pray do not let it quietly pass into a law!*

#### ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

##### ON THE SUGAR DUTIES BILL, AND THE STATE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY QUESTION IN AMERICA.

Extracts of a letter from Judge Jay to Joseph Sturge:—

"Your cheap sugar will, I fear, so sweeten the cup of slavery, that it will cease to be nauseous to the lips of Englishmen.

"Your politicians no longer respond to the language of Sir William Jones:—Let sugar be as dear as it may, it is better to eat aloes or colocintida, than violate a primary law of nature, impressed on every heart not imbruted by avarice, than rob one human being of those eternal rights of which no law upon earth can justly deprive him."

"I read the debates on the Sugar Bill, and it struck me that such of its advocates as denied that it would promote the slave-trade, because free labour would successfully compete with slave labour, were either very ignorant of the subject, or very insincere.

"You know, and Sir R. Peel, and Lord John Russell, and their associates, ought to have known, if they did not, that in the cultivation of sugar by slaves, human life is remorselessly sacrificed for gain.

"The anti-slavery feeling here is constantly growing in strength and extent. It has, I think, experienced no check; at the same time, the annexation of Texas has added prodigiously to the slave power, and the almost certain annexation of California will extend the curse indefinitely."

##### THE MEXICAN WAR IN ITS CONNEXION WITH THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY.

Extracts of a letter from J. G. Whittier to Joseph Sturge:—

"The vote for liberty in Massachusetts is this year, as near as I can gather it from the returns, a little rising 10,000—a gain of about 20 per cent. We have elected six members of the State Legislature.

"This, however, is not as well as I had hoped. But the now dominant party (the Whigs) have been compelled, by the rising tide of abolition, to move with it; and some of their leading men are almost with us.

"Among them are Charles Adams, son of the Ex-President, and Charles Sumner, a young lawyer of great promise, who has signalized himself as an ardent friend of peace and the abolition of capital punishment. His address to the citizens of Boston last year, on the 4th of July 'Anniversary,' has, I believe, been printed on your side of the water.

"The disgraceful Mexican war still drags on. I rejoice to be able to say that it has no popular favour in this section. Two requisitions, or calls for troops, have been made upon Massachusetts, and though our governor backed the first with his proclamation, not a soldier has left our soil to do the work of a human butcher. Why are your English papers, loud as they are in condemnation of us, so silent as to the actual cause and motive of this abominable war? The *extension of slave territory* is the end and aim.

"I enclose thee an extract to this effect from the Charlestown (South Carolina) *Courier* of the 2nd of this month:—

Every battle fought in Mexico, and every dollar spent there, but insures the acquisition of territory which must *widen the field of Southern ENTERPRISE and POWER in the future.*—And the final result will be to adjust the whole balance of power in confederacy, so as to *give us control over the operations of the government IN ALL TIME TO COME.* If the South be but true to themselves, the day of our depression and suffering is *gone, and gone for ever.*

This is perceived in other quarters, and the danger now is from such a combination at the North as may over-awe the administration and Congress. A combination may be made upon the principle of opposition to the Mexican war upon anti-slavery feeling.

The first development will be, a movement to prohibit the introduction of slavery into any territory to be acquired in Mexico.

If they succeed in restricting slavery *one inch below the Missouri compromise*, then if we submit to it, we shall deserve our degraded destiny. When this issue is tendered us, let the consequences be what they may, we must meet it as becomes men and freemen. It will be no time to argue.

These are the dangers that are before us. I fear that our friends in Ohio and New York and elsewhere, who voted with us for reduction of taxes, will quail before the rising storm, and even next session of Congress we shall see them give way to principles vital to us and to *this union.* If these events happen no man can foresee the result. We are on the eve of developments full of danger. While these things are taking place at the north, where our deadliest enemies are daily sending forth their shouts of triumph, the whole south appear to be in a profound slumber. We are relying with too much confidence upon the strength of an administration that is with us on all these great questions. We should be up and doing ourselves.

And just now the whole energy and prejudice of the north seem arrayed against these prospects before us. We have been able to look out upon the promised land, but I fear there is much rising between us and its enjoyment. The storm and the desert may yet have to be passed.

High bearing and lofty purpose can carry us through if united together.

##### FREE LABOUR PRODUCER.

Extracts from a letter written by Samuel Rhoads to Joseph Sturge, dated Philadelphia, 11th mo. 12, 1846:—

"Amongst the encouraging signs of the times, is the increased interest manifested throughout the Northern States against the encroachments of the slave power.

"The managers of Friends Free Produce Association have been anxiously endeavouring to make arrangements by which a supply of free cotton might be placed in the Philadelphia market, sufficient to keep one or two mills in operation, and the only difficulty is want of money.

"One manufacturer, uneasy in using slave-cotton, is very desirous to get free cotton exclusively; and he is disposed to manufacture the greatest possible variety of goods; but he has not capital to lay in *now* a stock of cotton for the year to come, and cotton being a cash article throughout the south, the free cotton must be purchased either before or immediately after it is ginned, if it is kept distinct from the slave grown.

"We have recently ascertained that considerable quantities of free-



grown rice can be produced in the south-east part of Virginia; some Friends there have engaged in the cultivation, and we shall probably be able to get a full supply for the demand here, or even more. We shall be glad to send you some."

### PROPOSED AFRICAN IMMIGRATION.

(From the *Times*.)

It has been said that the island of Mauritius is the spot where the comparative advantages of slave and free labour, as applied to the production of sugar, will first, if not finally, be put to the test. That colony, through its proximity to India, was enabled, at a very early period after the abolition of slavery, to supply the demand for labour by importing Hill-Coolies, whose introduction, although it was virtually prohibited by the order in Council of 1838, was yet continued long enough to save the planters from some portion of the evils which press so heavily upon the West India Islands. These latter colonies, partly through supineness, but in a great measure also on account of unavoidable difficulties, took no steps to meet the withdrawal of their apprentice labourers by any substantial plan of immigration. When, therefore, the order in Council issued forth, forbidding all contracts of service made with any persons whomsoever not then actually settled in the colonies, the prohibition came upon them with a crushing force, under which they even now lie prostrate. The Mauritius has acted a different part. Instead of the 1,490 "strangers" who constituted, according to M'Culloch, its whole extraordinary population in 1836, we find it stated in a recent work that there were in 1844, 22,500 Indians, or Hill-Coolies. It has, indeed, been also said, although on what authority we know not, that the numbers of these people are diminishing, in consequence of a natural anxiety to return to their native country. If this be true, it is probably owing not only to the cause alleged, but in a still greater degree to the dissatisfaction of the immigrants at their treatment and general condition in the place of their temporary settlement.

It is a very common and pardonable error that people fall into who are about to risk their money, or anything else they hold valuable, in the attainment of an object, to attempt to secure its possession to themselves by means which they would hardly pretend to justify in ordinary circumstances. The Mauritius planters have fallen into this error. Fearing to lose the exclusive services of the immigrants they were importing (doubtless at great expense), they have sought, and are still seeking, to bind them by the severest penalties to remain with their first masters. In doing this they have overreached themselves. They have forgotten a great truth, and one, too, which the experience of slavery ought to have indelibly impressed upon their minds. The value of the slave, as they knew full well, was always in exact proportion to his love of his master, or at least to the measure of his contentedness with his situation. Sullen labour, performed under a hateful coercion, is seldom very productive. Three or four willing men will any day do the work of a dozen murrurers. The services of these Hill-Coolies, so ardently sought and tyrannically retained, can never be worth what they might be, under regulations that should leave them free to go whithersoever they pleased. We do not mean that they should be subject to no restrictions. Some degree of restraint is doubtless expedient, and, moreover, just towards the planter. In principle, the latter should be allowed to reap all possible benefit from his speculation (for in this light immigration, as at present conducted, ought to be viewed); but it is rather kindness than oppression to prevent him from hurting his own interest by a too eager desire to secure it.

The subject, as we are informed, has received a careful consideration at the hands of the Colonial Office. Despatches are now on their way to Sir William Gomm, in which the outline of an ordinance for promoting immigration and the industry of immigrants is recommended for the adoption of the Legislative Council. The main features of this scheme are three,—first, the establishment of a register of immigrants; secondly, their protection against undue restraint; and, lastly, the regulation of contracts of service, for the mutual protection of both masters and servants. The register is to contain the names of all immigrants brought to the island within the last five years, to which the new arrivals are to be added from time to time. No immigrant is to leave the island without a passport, which will be granted free, together with a free passage back to India, if he has completed five years of industrial residence; but, with regard to others who have not completed this term, the passport is to be conditional on the payment of £1 for every year less than five, and no passage is to be provided. The meaning of "industrial" residence is a residence during which the immigrant shall either be working with a planter under a stamped agreement, or paying the monthly tax hereafter mentioned. This tax will be levied in advance on every immigrant not under written contract of service for a year with some planter. These contracts are to be stamped with a 40s. stamp, half only of which is to be payable on renewal *between the same parties*; and they are to be recorded in the register-office. Persons employing immigrants without stamped agreements render themselves responsible for the unpaid monthly tax, if any, and also for the claims which others

may have upon them in respect of previous engagements. Registered immigrants, working under agreements, and absenting themselves without leave, are to forfeit their claim to wages and rations, and further to pay a fine of 2d. a day to their masters; if the absence exceed a week, it is to be deducted in the computation of the term of industrial residence. Contracts of service may be determined by a month's notice on either side; and if the notice be given by the immigrant, he is to repay to his master a portion of the stamp equal to the proportion of the term for which it was made remaining unexpired. The taxes and other payments above-mentioned are to be summarily recoverable before a magistrate, who, in default of payment, may inflict a term of imprisonment at the rate of a day for every sixpence due. Lastly, all monies, fines, stamps, &c., imposed by the ordinance are to be applied to immigration purposes.

There is much ingenuity and by no means a want of fairness in these regulations. It may, perhaps, appear to some over-scrupulous persons, that the taxes and other payments exacted from the Indians, under certain circumstances, savour more of coercion than protection. But in our opinion the opposite is very easily shown. Indeed, we entirely agree in the views expressed in the following extract from the despatch:—

"The colony goes to the expense of paying for the introduction of immigrants, for the express purpose of securing a supply of labour for the cultivation of sugar; and if, after having had their passage so paid, the immigrants think proper to engage in other pursuits, nothing can be more reasonable than that they should be required to repay, by instalments, the cost incurred on their behalf; and, on the other hand, if they should like so to repay the cost of their passage, the colony would have no interest in seeking to prevent them from following such occupations as they might find most gainful to themselves, and therefore to the society of which they would form a part."

The proposed regulations on the head (of stamp duty) are partly intended to assist in defraying the expense of immigration; but their more important object is that of checking the excessive competition among the planters for the service of the Coolies, and encouraging the latter to continue in the service of the same employers without the frequent and capricious changes which are now so much complained of."

It was our intention to have noticed, in connection with this subject, the condition of the other sugar colonies in respect of labour; but no sufficient space is left for more than a bare announcement of the fact, that her Majesty's Government has decided upon aiding them in the work of immigration. A Government steamer, as we are informed, is shortly to ply between the Kroo coast and Jamaica, for the purpose of carrying free African labourers to that island. The experiment seems to us in every way likely to succeed: and even though unsuccessful, it affords to the desponding colonists a proof that they are not utterly abandoned by the mother country.

### Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—The cry for retrenchment is sounding from one end of the country to the other. Every post brings us the resolutions passed at some influential public meeting held, or the requisition calling one. Resolutions and requisitions, all speak of, and demand retrenchment in, expenditure and reduction in taxation. It is quite practicable to reduce our expenditure to the extent of nearly eighty thousand pounds, and to diminish our taxation by a similar amount. The cost of Coolie immigration will go a far way towards making up the amount, and that millstone must be removed from the necks of the people of Jamaica. Conceived in selfishness, and brought forth in recklessness, it has deceived every expectation of its supporters. The eyes of the whole country are being opened to the useless and disastrous consequences of the scheme. It was loudly denounced at the Falmouth meeting; and though a desperate attempt has been made to characterise that assemblage as representing neither the commercial nor the agricultural interests of the parish, yet it has been clearly proved in contradiction, that at that meeting were gathered the most influential merchants of Falmouth, along with the representatives of no less than fifty-one sugar estates. If a meeting like this is not to be considered as representing and speaking the sentiments of the commercial and the agricultural interests, then we know not where to look for the embodiment of their opinions.

Other evidence of the estimation in which Coolie immigration is held, is to be found in the fact, that at no single meeting that has been held, has a demand been made for the continuation of their importation, nor has any assertion been made of their serviceableness or utility.

We have already adverted to the circumstance of requisitions having been sent in for no more than twelve hundred out of the five thousand provided for by the resolution of the House of Assembly, of the 13th of November last, as showing pretty conclusively the indifference, if not aversion, with which the agriculturalists are beginning to regard the scheme.

By yesterday's post we received a communication from an influential and unbiassed gentleman residing in Vere, containing a brief, but most emphatic postscript, in the following words:—"The *Morning Journal* has all along been right in respect to the Coolies. The bubble has burst



in this parish. No man will have Coolies who has to pay for them out of his own purse; and those who have them would be glad to get quit of them. Every day a Coolie's work costs the proprietor nearly four shillings; and a Creole does as much work (and in most cases more) for sixpence! Can anything be more plain and forcible?

We anticipate the reception which this statement will meet from the press of this city. It will be denounced as false, in language whose vulgarity will be rivalled only by its audacity. The desperate device has, however, been used too often to produce any effect. It has been worn too thin to blind any one. The eyes of all sensible men are now being opened to the true state of the Coolie question. Evidence is beginning to extinguish impudence. The Legislature will be unable to resist the force of the proof that will be laid before them; and we look with confidence that during the ensuing sessions the death blow will be given to Coolie immigration, and the £30,000 for that item will be lopped off from our annual expenditure.—*Morning Journal*, Oct. 28.

**DEMERARA.** *What can be done for the indigent Coolies.*—The statements and reports, verbal and written, which reach us concerning them, are enough to tingle the ear and give emotion even to the obdurate. Their unfitness for the laborious exertions of the sugar plantation is obvious. How many have no employment, are discharged from estates for their inability, are left to pine and perish!—never heard of, never inquired for, never cared for, and will, in this world, never more be seen! We heard of one last week who was found on plantation—in a state of putrefaction, on whom the carrion crows had begun to feed! No returns of deaths either of Coolies or Portuguese, from plantations or rural districts, will ever make us acquainted with the mortality of multitudes; nor, indeed, are we aware of any required to be specifically set forth so as to enable the authorities, here or at home, to form any idea whatever as to the proportion of Coolie or Madeiran mortality. But, considering the circumstances of many, their slender feminine frames, their sickly and weak aspect, the mortality of former importations, the laborious nature of nearly every department of plantation labour, the optional care of the sick, or even the dying, permitted to employers, the forlorn situation of those in distant districts especially;—the most melancholy apprehensions are awakened as to what must be the prevailing mortality of the Indian immigrants especially. Without, however, indulging in the feelings and overpowering sympathies which these considerations awaken in our bosom, we would earnestly inquire, what can be suggested to mitigate the evil? Might not cotton and coffee cultivation be profitably revived to a considerable extent on the abandoned sea coast, and in the canals, Nos. 1 and 3, where the more feeble among the Portuguese, and those Coolies incapable of the labours of the sugar plantation might be induced to go. In Berbice especially, where so many are represented as being unemployed, this might be effected, in the event of the scheme some time since suggested in the *Berbice Gazette* being consummated. Deeply as we deprecate the cruel immigration schemes, and lament the introduction to our shores of so many miserable objects of pity—here they are. What can now be done for them is a question forced on our attention by their miseries. How can they be employed so as to prevent the increase of sickness and want, or starvation and death?—*Congregational Record*.

**TRINIDAD.**—“Several Portuguese immigrants lately arrived and sent to Couva, have died,” the *Spectator* says, “of fever, and a number, we have not heard how many, have been sent here to the Colonial Hospital.” The mortality is to be accounted for from the situation and the season:—

“Our cultivated sea board, especially to the south and west, is unhealthy. To send Madeirans thither on arrival, is to send them to the grave. Death has committed sad havoc among those who came by the *Senator* some six months ago. We fear, that ere twelve months elapse, there will not be one half of them alive. It is said, that on some estates two-thirds of the associated Portuguese are already in their graves. Really, the government ought to interfere, without delay, and arrest, as far as possible, the sacrifice of human life. These Madeira immigrants might live and benefit the colony and themselves, if employed in high and dry localities. If the government would keep their hands clear of human blood in future, they must cease to be dictated to and controlled by certain heartless, self-seeking parties amongst us, who have actually made a tool of the government, scattering at pleasure the public treasury, victimizing their fellow creatures by thousands per annum, and fertilizing the soil with the bodies of a lamentable proportion of their number. This is no ideal or party picture, but a tear-causing and revolting fact. Could the list of immigrants for the last seven years, and the immigrant mortality bill be placed side by side, the British public would shudder, and speedily denounce and destroy our unjust and inhuman immigration Ordinance, that has proved such a curse to the colony and to human kind.”—*Trinidad Standard*.

**MADEIRA IMMIGRANTS.**—Yesterday the *Dalhousie* arrived from

Madeira with upwards of 200 immigrants. We understand it is their wish and intention to proceed to St. Vincent. They are afraid to remain here, having heard of the sickness and mortality among those who arrived about seven months ago by the *Senator*. Really, it is no wonder that they should dread the land where so many of their countrymen found a grave in so short a time. We trust, that in future, care will be taken not to locate Portuguese on proverbially unhealthy estates. We should like that those lately arrived, residing in town, and supported in great measure by charity, to accept of situations inland, where they would have a chance of health, and an opportunity of supporting themselves. We hear some complaining of the indifference of the government with regard to the comfort of the Portuguese. We do think that, in addition to a shelter, rations should be allowed, at least to the destitute among them, and a medical gentleman appointed to visit those who are sick, till such times as they procure occupation. Several we hear are sick, and the hospital is said to be nearly full. It is really too bad to pay for bringing to our shores destitute human beings, and then leave them to be cared for and supported by the charitable. Immigration at the public expense must be put a stop to; it is intolerable. But while it continues, let the government, for Heaven's sake, see to the subsistence and health of immigrants.

It appears that the Portuguese government have dismissed the Governor of Madeira, and also the Master of Police for inefficiency or unfaithfulness during the disgraceful and bloody riots which lately occurred there, and which have caused so many of the best citizens to escape for their lives to other lands.—*Ibid.*, Nov. 14.

**IMMIGRATION FROM AFRICA.**—Immigration from the United States to Trinidad has proved an illustrious failure: thanks to the Honourable W. H. Burnley. Immigration from France, Germany, and Portugal, has resulted in a fearful sacrifice of life, with little advantage to the monomaniac West India body. Even Coolie immigration, lately so much lauded, is not in very high favour with any class. Its enormous cost is enough to condemn it commercially; and the personal suffering and social evils which have attended it are more than sufficient to ban it in the ears and estimation of the humane and moral. “But additional labourers must be had,” say the sugar lords of this and other neighbouring colonies, or the total and irretrievable ruin, predicted for the nine hundred and ninety-ninth time, shall most certainly befall them. Whence and how are labourers to be procured?

The West Indian body at home are pestering the government to grant them free access to the coast of Africa for the purpose of bringing hence free labourers. We cannot too highly commend the caution and generally enlightened views of the Colonial Secretary with regard to African immigration. He seems very willing to encourage it, if it could be carried out on just and humane principles, and in an unobjectionable manner. But he finds the subject begirt with difficulties. To render valid and binding contracts made in Africa with ignorant Africans for labour to be performed in the West Indies would be preposterous; and even to allow that freedom of access to the African coast sought for by the West Indian body, would be to stimulate indirectly the internal slave-trade. It is essential that the government watch with a sleepless and eagle eye the proceedings of the children, heirs, and successors of the former kidnappers on the coast of Africa. If labourers are to be brought from Africa, we trust the government will see that they freely and willingly embark, and when landed here, will take care that they are kindly dealt with; enjoining, also, that those in need of such labourers pay for their passage. This must be demanded by the community who for years have had their rights outraged, and their interests inconceivably injured by being forced to pay for immigration. We have much to say on this subject, but must wait another opportunity.—*Ibid.*

**ST. LUCIA. More Refugees.**—On Monday, last week, four slaves from the quarter of François, Martinique, effected their landing in this island, after pulling across the channel in a heavy flat bottom boat, in about thirty-six hours. During their passage they were alarmed by the appearance of the French Guarda-Costa, *Mésange*, which arrived and anchored in our harbour on Monday, at about two o'clock, and apprehending she was in their pursuit they were compelled to pull away considerably to windward, in order to avoid falling in with her, and after great exertions, they were finally driven ashore on the rocks at *Espérance Point*, perfectly exhausted, and where they abandoned their embarkation to come to Castries, to report themselves to the magistrate of the second district. Subsequently, however, it having been known that the boat was on the rocks, assistance was afforded, and after some temporary repair and caulking, it was floated off, and moved round to the *Reduit Estate*, where it now remains until claimed by the proper parties. We have been informed that it is perfectly miraculous, how these four men could have succeeded in coming so great a distance, in such an embarkation.—*St. Lucia Independent Press*, Nov. 19.